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THOSE WHO (STILL) LIVE ON EARTH:

A Study of the Ancient Egyptian Appeal to the Living Texts

by

Steven Blake Shubert

A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy,
Department of Near and Middle Eastern Civilizations,
University of Toronto

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Those who (still) live on earth: A Study of the Ancient Egyptian Appeal to the Living Texts
Steven Blake Shubert
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ABSTRACT

The specific nature of the Appeal to the living texts in ancient Egypt is investigated from the Old Kingdom through the New Kingdom. A data set has been collected of some 294 Appeal texts divided chronologically into 1) Old Kingdom (45 texts), 2) First Intermediate Period (47 texts), 3) Middle Kingdom (93 texts), 4) Second Intermediate Period (8 texts), and 5) New Kingdom (101 texts). Chapters two through six of the study contain original transliterations and English translations of these Appeal texts.

The Appeal texts are defined in terms of three separate elements: 1) an invocation or address; 2) a request to provide offerings, speak the offertory prayer on behalf of the deceased, or to provide other appropriate behaviour; and 3) motivations, both positive and negative, provided to entice future generations to carry out these requests. Chapters seven through nine of the study investigate each of these elements in turn.

The Old Kingdom Appeal texts are found in the context of private tombs, mostly on tomb walls, but also on stelae set up in the tomb. Stelae are the most popular source of First Intermediate Period Appeals, but they continue on be found on tomb walls, as well as appearing at quarrying sites, such as Hatnub. In the Middle Kingdom Appeals begin to be found on statues in association with temples, but the most common context for

Appeals remains stelae. New Kingdom Appeals appear in association with both temples and tombs.

The analysis of the Appeal texts in the study sample shows that the genre is based on a number of stereotypical phrases or formulae. These formulae begin at the end of the Old Kingdom or in the First Intermediate Period and continue to appear throughout the Middle Kingdom and 18th Dynasty. Variations to the formulae appear in the Middle Kingdom and the 18th Dynasty. In the Ramesside Period the standard formulae generally no longer appear and variation has become the rule. This pattern of formulae can best be explained in terms of oral transmission.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AEO	Ancient Egyptian Onomastica
AJSL	American Journal of Semitic Languages
ANOC	Abydos North Offering Chapel
ASAE	Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte
BIFAO	Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire
BM	British Museum (London)
BMFA	Bulletin of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts
BMMA	Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art
BSA	British School of Archaeology in Egypt
CdE	Chronique d'Égypte
CDME	Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian (Faulkner)
CG	Catalogue général (object number in Cairo Museum)
CGC	Catalogue général du Musée du Caire
DLE	Dictionary of Late Egyptian (Lesko)
ed.	editor or edition
EEF	Egypt Exploration Fund
FIFAO	Fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire
FIP	First Intermediate Period
Fs	Festschrift
HT	Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc. in the British Museum
JARCE	Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt
JE	Journal d'Entrée (object no. in Cairo Museum)

JEA	Journal of Egyptian Archaeology
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
LEM	Late Egyptian Miscellanies
LES	Late Egyptian Stories
KRI	Kitchen (K.A.), Ramesside Inscriptions
LMA	Lowie Museum of Anthropology (Berkeley, California)
MDAIK	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo
MIFAO	Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire
MK	Middle Kingdom
MMA	Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York City)
NK	New Kingdom
OK	Old Kingdom
PM	Porter and Moss <i>Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings</i>
PT	Pyramid Text
RIDA	Revue internationale des Droits de l'Antiquité
SAK	Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur
SIP	Second Intermediate Period
Urk.	Urkunden der ägyptischen Sprache
Wb.	Wörterbuch der aegyptischen Sprache
ZÄS	Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde

1.0 INTRODUCTION

The Appeal to the Living, *appel aux vivants*, or *Anruf an Lebenden* is a genre of texts found on ancient Egyptian monuments that entreates those (still) living to show respect to the dead, to make offerings and otherwise to behave in an appropriate manner. Implicit in this interaction is the ancient Egyptian belief that the realms of the living and the dead were interconnected; just as the prayers and offerings of the living would benefit the dead, so too the dead were believed to be able to intervene both beneficially and detrimentally amongst the living. Egyptian Letters to the Dead represent the living sending messages to their dead relatives.¹ The Appeal texts are communication in the reverse direction; the deceased are speaking to the living, generally to anyone still alive, rather than to just relatives or descendants. This communication presupposes knowledge of the ancient Egyptian language and writing system. When this was lost, the communication was lost, but now that this knowledge had been revived, the communication has been revived. This communication, however, presupposes a set of cultural knowledge that would have been present in all literate ancient Egyptians, which has not been completely revived along with the ancient language. But through a careful study of these texts, they can be placed into a cultural context. While this may not be exactly the same as the context in which they originally existed in ancient Egypt, an examination of such factors as the range in type of monument, dates and contents of the Appeal texts provides a context within which the individual Appeal texts that have been preserved may be understood.

¹ For Letters to the Dead, a major source is still Gardiner and Sethe 1928. For a more recent survey see Keller 1989 or Wente 1990 pp. 210-219.

1.1 Definition

What exactly is an Appeal to the Living text? Complete agreement on the concept of an Appeal text is not found in the Egyptological literature. The term may refer to those Appeal texts in which the “living” are specifically invoked using the word *ḥnw*;² other Appeals to Visitors or specialists then would form their own related genres. The term “Appeal text” is broader and can be used to categorize the whole group of related types or sub-types. But the fact is that even if visitors, certain grades of priests, or scribes are addressed in an Appeal, all of these groups are among the living. It is this communication between the formerly living and the currently living that defines an Appeal to the Living text in this study, not the use of a specific term or formula. There is some confusion in the literature between this broader use of the term “Appeal to the Living” and the more specific definition of the phrase *ḥnw tpyw-t3*. Rather than begin with a strict definition that could exclude relevant texts, this study has adopted at the outset a broader definition, so that the act of appealing to the living in an ancient Egyptian text becomes the sole criterion for inclusion, rather than the appearance of any specific set of words.

It should be noted that employing a broad definition of an Appeal text means that there is a fair amount of variation within the Appeal text genre. Some Appeal texts are quite long and others are quite short. Rather than occurring in isolation, Appeal texts appear in association with other texts, typically idealized autobiographies of the deceased, but also connected with other genres, such as offering formulae, threats, and blessings. It is not

² This use of the term “Appeal to the living” (*Anrufen an die Lebenden*) is defined in Edel 1944 pp. 2-3. For an example of how this definition has continued see p. 206 n. 77 of Demarée 1983.

always easy to isolate the Appeal itself from the larger body of a text in which an Appeal is positioned.

1.2 Literature review

The standard scholarly work on the Appeal texts remains that of Jean Sainte Fare Garnot L'Appel aux Vivants dans les textes funéraires égyptiens des origines à la fin de l'Ancien Empire (Recherches d'archéologie, de philologie et d'histoire 9) Le Caire: Institut française d'archéologie orientale, 1938. Garnot's work covers 22 Old Kingdom Appeal texts, though three of these are fragmentary ("*textes mutilés*"), so the main discussion focuses on nineteen texts, including three better dated to the First Intermediate Period (Garnot nos. IX, XIV and XIX). These texts are presented in hieroglyphic text with translation and commentary in the first part of Garnot's work. The hieroglyphic texts are provided with the French Institute font, without transliteration, but in one appendix (no. II) the epigraphy of the original inscriptions is discussed, and in another appendix (no. III) the variant writings for *i nḥw tpyw-t3 sw3.ty.sn ḥr is pn* are given. The Appeals are presented in a chronological arrangement (see chart 1 on the next page), being divided into four separate stages: 1) Dynasties 4 and 5; 2) Dynasty 6 from the accession of Teti until the middle of the reign of Pepy I; 3) the last years of Pepy I and the reign of Merenre; and 4) the reign of Pepy II. In the second part of Garnot's work, a detailed textual analysis of the form and content of the Appeal texts is provided. Garnot divides the Appeals into two main categories: 1) those that are addressed to specialists, such as lector and funerary priests, and 2) those that are addressed to the general public. For each

category, Garnot discusses A. to whom the Appeals are addressed, B. the demands, C. the conditions of the demands, D. the types of the demands, and E. the conditions of use.

CHART 1: GARNOT'S CHRONOLOGY OF OLD KINGDOM APPEALS

DYNASTY IV-V

Garnot no. I:	Kaiherasetef (Giza)
Garnot no. II:	Ti (Saqqara)
Garnot no. III:	Inti (Deshasha)

DYNASTY VI: Period I (Teti until the middle of the reign of Pepy I)

Garnot no. IV:	Hetepeniptah (Giza)
Garnot no. V:	Kaiherptah (Giza)
Garnot no. VI:	Nedjemib (no provenance)
Garnot no. VII:	Ankhmahor (Saqqara)
Garnot no. VIII:	Khentika (Saqqara)
Garnot no. IX:	Henkou (Deir el-Gebrawi)

DYNASTY VI: Period II (last years of Pepy I and reign of Merenre)

Garnot no. X:	Nekhebu (Giza)
Garnot no. XI:	Kereri (Akhmim)
Garnot no. XII:	Pepinefer (Edfu)
Garnot no. XIII:	Pepini (Abydos)
Garnot no. XIV:	Meni (Dendera)

DYNASTY VI: Period III (reign of Pepy II)

Garnot no. XV:	Harkhuf (Aswan)
Garnot no. XVI:	Djaou (Abydos)
Garnot no. XVII:	Djaou (Deir el-Gebrawi)
Garnot no. XVIII:	Pepiankh-heri-ib (Meir)
Garnot no. XIX:	Shemai (Wadi Hammamat)

“Textes mutilés d’appels aux vivants”

Garnot no. XX:	Mereruka (Saqqara)
Garnot no. XXI:	Kagemni (Saqqara)
Garnot no. XXII:	Anonymous (Saqqara)

An additional classification of the texts is provided by Garnot in an appendix (no. IV). Here the Appeals are characterized as either simple or complex in type, and they are distinguished as being either direct or indirect. Direct Appeals state a positive demand or command, after the opening invocation, e.g. *pr n.(i) prt-hrw* “set forth for me an invocation offering” (Nedjemib Urk. I 75.12). Indirect Appeals present the same concepts, but in terms of what advantages may accrue if a certain course of action is followed, e.g. *mrrw n(y)-swt pw hssw ntr.sn niwty dd.ty.sn h3 t(i)*... “it is those whom the king loves and whom their local god favours, who shall say 1000 loaves,” etc. (Djaou: Urk. I 147.10-12). In the most precise sense, the indirect statements are not appeals, but statements of advantage or advice. Ten different types of simple appeals are delimited by Garnot (p. 114); seven are direct appeals and three are indirect appeals. Four different types of complex appeals (nos. 11-14) are enumerated by Garnot (pp. 112-115); these are characterized by a “prohibitive formula” either directly prohibiting unwanted behaviour, such as entering a tomb while unclean, or indicating the consequences of such behaviour, such as wringing their necks like that of a bird.

Garnot’s work is based largely on the hieroglyphic texts published in Urkunden I (Sethe 1906-1909, 2nd ed. 1932-1933); he also relied heavily on the broader discussion on tomb protection and preservation in the 1913 work by Henri Sottas La Préservation de la Propriété funéraire dans l’ancienne Égypte avec le recueil des formules d’imprécation (Bibliothèque de l’École des Hautes Études 205). Sottas had already identified many of the formulaic utterances that make up the Appeal texts. Sottas (pp. 1-58) deals with appeals to visitors characterized by the phrase *ir rmt nb*..., which Sottas refers to as “les

formules d'interdiction” in his first chapter, which is restricted to the Old Kingdom. The Appeal to the living formula is dealt with in the second chapter (Sottas 1913 pp. 64-83), entitled “*Évolution du formulaire*.” In his third chapter Sottas deals with protective measures taken by Egyptian kings and in an appendix covers curses (*imprécations*) from non-funerary sources.

The formulae dealt with by Sottas in his first two chapters were further elaborated upon by Elmar Edel in “Untersuchungen zur Phraseologie der ägyptischen Inschriften des Alten Reiches” MDAIK 13 (1944) pp. 1-84. Although again a broader study not restricted specifically to Appeal texts, Edel (pp. 2-3) made a clear distinction between the Address to Visitors (*Anrufe an die Besucher*) and the Appeal to the Living (*Anrufe an die Lebenden*). Garnot (1938 p. 5) does refer to addresses to visitors, but these two distinct categories of Appeals were first defined by Edel. According to Edel (pp. 2-3), the Address to Visitors appeared from the 4th until the 20th Dynasty and the Appeal to the Living was in use from the 6th Dynasty until the Late Period. Edel’s work dealt only with Old Kingdom texts and he does not trace the history of the genre; he had the work of Sottas upon which to base his chronological comments.

A brief history of the Appeal texts is found in the three-page article by Christa Müller (1972) in the Lexikon der Ägyptologie I cols. 293-299. Here the Appeal texts are examined in terms of the differing contexts of tombs, stelae, and statues, as well as in terms of the differing cultural context of the different periods in Egyptian history. Müller presents the Old Kingdom Appeals as components of tomb decoration connected with the

diminution of the state's power to ensure the continuation of the funerary cults. The Appeals appear in large numbers among the Middle Kingdom stelae at Abydos, though their appearance on tombs continues and they appear on statues as well. Here, despite the lack of an endowed funerary cult, Egyptians show that they are reluctant to abandon the idea of future assistance for the benefit of those in the Afterlife. In the tombs of 18th Dynasty Thebes, a visitor cult is maintained alongside the traditional funerary cult. As time progressed less emphasis was placed on offerings for the deceased and more emphasis on prayers on behalf of the deceased, which serve to preserve the memory of the deceased in this world, rather than aid their journey in the next.

A chapter (no. IV) on "The 'Appeal to the Living' Through the Ages" is included in Miriam Lichtheim's Maat in Egyptian Autobiographies and Related Studies (1992). She notes (p. 155) that 'since J.S.F. Garnot's dissertation on the "Appel aux vivants" in the Old Kingdom (Cairo 1938), the "Appeal" does not seem to have been studied.' Lichtheim presents some fifty Appeal texts arranged in chronological order, from the Sixth Dynasty to the Saite Period (Dynasty 26). The main point of Lichtheim's study is grammatical. She makes a case for the gradual replacement of the *sḏm.ty.fy* forms by participles and *sḏm.f* forms. Hitherto modern editors have typically restored *sḏm.ty.fy* forms where they were not clearly written.

Lichtheim (1992) also provides an historical overview of the Appeal texts. She suggests (p. 158) that the Appeal evolved over the course of the Old Kingdom from the briefest possible request (e.g. O living ones ... pour water for me, cf. Urk. I 75) into a more

elaborate request that focused on the motivation for the request. The Old Kingdom, although a time of “sparseness and brevity of phrasing” (Lichtheim 1992 p. 159), was also a time of experimentation, as a balance was attempted between the different elements of the Appeals. First Intermediate Period (FIP) Appeals varied widely in length and elaboration, but as a whole the FIP Appeals are characterized by their invocation to those “who love life and hate death” (Lichtheim 1992 p. 160). By the 11th Dynasty, the Appeal was “addressed primarily to the priesthood and personnel of a temple” (Lichtheim 1992 p. 161). Then in the 18th Dynasty, the Appeal becomes an adjunct to the lengthy prayers found attached to the monumental biographic texts found in the Theban tombs (Lichtheim 1992 p. 172). The reign of Akhenaten “stifled the Appeal” (Lichtheim 1992 p. 175), but it was revived in the Ramesside Period. Third Intermediate Period Appeals continue the New Kingdom types, but in the 25th and 26th Dynasties there is evidence of archaism in borrowing directly from Old Kingdom and FIP prototypes, as well as a continued dependence on New Kingdom models (Lichtheim 1992 p. 184).

In recent Egyptological reference works, the Appeal to the living texts have been mentioned, but not given their own entries. In Civilizations of the Ancient Near East (1995), edited by Jack M. Sasson, D.B. Redford in the entry on “Language, Writing and Literature” deals with the content of the Appeals in terms of tomb biographies, without mentioning the genre by name. Redford (1995 p. 2232) indicates that the deceased addresses “all you who pass by” and enjoins future generations to provide offerings or to recite the offering formula, while at the same time proscribing that they should damage the tomb. Redford (2000 pp. 154-9) also gives an overview of the Appeal text genre in

the context of his discussion on literacy and orality in ancient Egypt, entitled “Scribe and Speaker”. Many of the Appeal texts are included in the works of Scott Morschauser on threat formulae in ancient Egypt³ and by Katarina Nordh Aspects of Ancient Egyptian Curses and Blessings (1996); neither of these authors considers the genre of Appeal texts as separate from other types of texts with curses (or blessings). Leprohon in an article on “Offering formulas and Lists” in The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt (2001 pp. 570-1) includes a subsection on the Appeal to the living as a development of the offering formula.

1.3 Research questions

The present study aims to follow up on the work by Müller (1972) and Lichtheim (1992) in looking at the genre of the Appeal text, as it developed over time, rather than concentrating on the Old Kingdom Appeals, as in the work by Garnot (1938) and Edel (1944). But as with the work of Edel (1944), this study will focus on the phraseology used in the Appeal texts. The specific set of terms that are repeated over and over again in the Appeal texts, as well as the variations seen in these formulae, are the key facet of analysis that will be examined in the present study.

In looking at the common elements found repeatedly in the Appeal texts, three features appear in the majority of the ancient Egyptian Appeals. These three basic elements are 1) an invocation or address of some sort; 2) a request for those (still) living to do something (provide an offering or behave appropriately); and 3) incentive(s) for carrying out the

³ In 1987 Morschauser presented a PhD thesis on this subject at Johns Hopkins University. Then in 1991 he published a monograph entitled Threat-formulae in Ancient Egypt, based on a section of the PhD thesis.

request(s). Though properly a result of the current study, this analysis of the Appeal texts into three basic elements forms the framework of the presentation of the current study, and thus is presented here at the outset.⁴

The research questions dealt with in this study focus on the three basic elements of the Appeal texts explained above. The particular formulae found in each of these elements will be analyzed in order to determine the essential nature of each element and how it changes over time, from the Old Kingdom through to the New Kingdom. Specifically, this study will investigate 1) to whom the Appeals are addressed, both specifically and in general terms, and how this changes over time; 2) what the Appeals request for the deceased, both in terms of specific requests and the general nature of the requests and how they change over time; and 3) what incentives or motivations are provided for future generations to fulfill these requests. Again the study will look at the precise terminology used, as well as the overall nature of both the positive and negative motivations appearing in the Appeal texts.

1.4 Methodology

A sample of some 294 Appeal texts was assembled for the present investigation; this sample was deemed sufficiently large to deal with the study questions. The texts have been arranged chronologically into five different historical periods: 1) Old Kingdom

⁴ This division of Appeal texts into three units is not entirely original to the present study. For example, in the discussion in section 54 of Collier and Manley (1998 pp. 112-3), where the Appeal of Minnefer (BM EA 829) is described as having two basic elements, namely a.) hailing the visitor and b.) the offering request, as well as a further “optional” element c.) the appeal to goodwill or piety. Lichtheim (1992 p. 156) also has a similar tripartite division of a.) hailing the visitor, b.) affirming goodwill, and c.) request for an offering prayer.

(OK); 2) First Intermediate Period (FIP); 3) Middle Kingdom (MK); 4) Second Intermediate Period (SIP); and 5) New Kingdom (NK). For each period, standard Egyptological collections of hieroglyphic texts have been examined for examples of Appeal texts. For the Old Kingdom, there is the work of Garnot (1938) on which to build and the collection of texts in Sethe Urkunden des alten Reichs (Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums I 1906-1909). A comprehensive translation of Old Kingdom texts based on Urk. I has now been published by Nigel Strudwick (2005). For the First Intermediate Period, there are important collections of texts collected by J.J. Clère and J. Vandier (1948) and by Wolfgang Schenkel (1965). In addition to these important groups of First Intermediate Period texts, Appeals from individual sites have been published by Rudolf Anthes Die Felsinschriften von Hatnub nach den Aufnahmen Georg Möllers (1964), by Dows Dunham Naga ed-Dêr Stelae of the First Intermediate Period (1937), and by Khaled Abdalla Daoud Corpus of Inscriptions from the Herakleopolitan Period from the Memphite Necropolis (2005). Collections of Middle Kingdom texts in recent English language translation are provided by Lichtheim (1988) and Parkinson (1991), and in hieroglyphic texts by Kurt Sethe (1928) and H.O. Lange and Heinrich Schäfer (1902-1925). Important groups of Middle Kingdom Appeals from individual areas are found in Alan H. Gardiner and T. Eric Peet The Inscriptions of Sinai I (1952), Labib Habachi Elephantine IV: The Sanctuary of Heqaib (1985) and William Kelly Simpson The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos: The Offering Chapels of Dynasties 12 and 13 (1974). For the 18th Dynasty, major collections of hieroglyphic texts are provided by Kurt Sethe Urkunden der 18. Dynastie: historisch-biographische Urkunden (Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums IV 1906-1909) and Maj Sandman Texts from the Time of

Akhenaten (1938); English translations of these sources are provided by Cumming 1982-1984, Davies 1992-1995 and Murnane 1995. Ramesside texts have been collected and published by Kenneth A. Kitchen, both in collated hieroglyphic texts (1969-1989) and partially in English translation (1996-1998). Other sources have been consulted for individual texts as appropriate.

For each of the Appeal texts included in the study a catalogue entry has been made in the chapter for the appropriate chronological period. Within each chronological chapter, the Appeals are arranged alphabetically in the ancient Egyptian language according to the name of the deceased person on whose behalf the Appeal is made, following the order presented by Ranke (1935) in the major study of ancient Egyptian personal names to date. Anonymous Appeals have been placed at the beginning of the appropriate chronological section. Each Appeal has been assigned an alphanumeric designation, based on its chronological period and its position in the alphabetized list. The five chronological periods included in the study have been abbreviated as follows: OK = Old Kingdom; FIP = First Intermediate Period; MK= Middle Kingdom; SIP = Second Intermediate Period; and NK = New Kingdom. Under the heading “location” the place where the Appeal was located in Egypt is listed, if known. As well, the appropriate museum collection and number is provided for those sources that are now part of museum collections. A date is assigned to each Appeal text that includes the general period or dynasty and the more specific ruler or other chronological division, if known, under which the inscription was written. Inevitably some of the texts are more datable than others, with some including specific year dates while others are not clearly ascribed

to even a specific dynasty. The basic bibliography consulted in the course of this research is provided for each of the texts included in the sample. This bibliography is not meant to be exhaustive. Where possible, I have included a citation to Porter and Moss Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings, abbreviated as PM.⁵

After the preliminary information necessary to correctly identify and place in context an Appeal text, the text itself is given. I have provided a reference to the published hieroglyphic text in hand copy or photograph for all the Appeals in the sample. This is followed by a transliteration of the text and then by an English translation. Initially, there was no plan to include commentary on the individual texts; but as the research has progressed, it has seemed useful to include some minimal references and citations. Once the catalogue of sample texts was completed, an index was constructed of the occurrence of the various terms and phrases found the texts.

1.5 Limitations of the present study

All Egyptological study is limited by the uneven preservation of the source material available for study (Goedicke 1975 p. 2). Working with the available material means that the Old Kingdom is dominated by material from Giza and Saqqara, the Middle Kingdom by material from Abydos and the New Kingdom by material from Thebes. As excavation progresses slowly, more and more material is becoming available from other areas of

⁵ Older sources are listed in the Porter and Moss bibliography. Other sources also contain further bibliographic references, as many of the Appeal texts are well known and have been mentioned in numerous Egyptological studies.

Egypt, such as the Delta. Moreover, there are pieces in museums whose original provenance is not known and pieces that have been damaged so that the entire inscription cannot be read. These limitations have to be accepted in a study of this sort from the outset.

Other limitations of the present study can be overcome with further research. The present study has been limited to published material.⁶ The evidence will grow as more Appeal texts are published; it is expected that more Appeal texts will be located amongst unpublished material in museum collections as well. Moreover, the present study has been limited chronologically to the period from the Old Kingdom through the New Kingdom for reasons of time and space. Appeal texts continue to be found in Egypt in the Third Intermediate Period, Late Period, and Graeco-Roman periods. I have already been collecting examples of Appeal texts from these periods and expect to present an analysis of these at a future date.

A final limitation of the present study is that the vocabulary of phrases and formulae studied here are only drawn from the texts used in the study sample. Some of the formulae, such as the *ḥtp-di-nsw* formula, have much wider use in ancient Egypt than that which is presented in this study. It would certainly be a valuable exercise to look at each of the stock phrases found in the Appeal texts and to investigate if and how they are used in other genres of texts, but this is beyond the scope of the present research.

⁶ There may be some published examples not included in the study sample, since they were not known to the investigator, who would be grateful to hear of any such published Appeals.

1.6 Organization of the thesis

After the present introductory chapter, this thesis continues with a presentation of the study sample of Appeal texts. Chapters 2-6 of this study present the Appeal texts in the five chronological divisions included. Chapter 2 covers the Old Kingdom; Chapter 3 covers the First Intermediate Period; Chapter 4 covers the Middle Kingdom; Chapter 5 covers the Second Intermediate Period; and Chapter 6 covers the New Kingdom. Each chapter opens with a short introduction setting the context in which the individual Appeal texts are to be placed. The extent of the time period covered by each chapter is specified. A chronological list of the Appeal texts in the study sample is provided in Appendix I.

The presentation of the data is followed by an analysis of the three main elements found in the Appeal texts: 1) the invocations (chapter 7); 2) the requests for offerings and specified behaviours (chapter 8); and 3) the incentives or motivations offered in the Appeals for future people to act according to the dictates in the Appeals (chapter 9). In each case the various types of formulae and phrases used in the Appeals are examined as to their chronological development. A concluding section (chapter 10) summarizes this chronological development and looks at the different cultural contexts in which the Appeal texts are found: the tomb, the quarry, and the temple. Finally, the question of the transmission of the Appeal texts is discussed.

2.0 OLD KINGDOM APPEALS

The genre of Appeal texts began in the Old Kingdom. The Old Kingdom is defined here as running from Dynasty Three through the reign of Pepy II in Dynasty Six.¹ The earliest Appeal texts are found in the late Fifth Dynasty tombs of elite government officials in the Memphite necropolis of Giza and Saqqara. A specific terminology and a focus on the tomb itself – that it not be defiled by “impure” visitors – characterize these early Appeals, which are known as the Address to Visitors (Edel 1944 p. 2). The Address to Visitors continues in the Sixth Dynasty, but the idea of the Appeal was broadened and transformed. Sixth Dynasty Appeals may be addressed to lector priests, or to embalmers, as well as to visitors to the tomb. The geographic scope of the Appeals is broadened as well; in the reigns of Merenre and Pepy II, Appeal texts are found in provincial cemeteries in both Middle Egypt (e.g. Deir el-Gebrawi, Deshasha, and Meir) and Upper Egypt (e.g. Abydos, Akhmim, Edfu, and Aswan), while continuing in the area of the capital as well. Texts with multiple or complex Appeals also appear in the Sixth Dynasty, where different types of Appeal are combined or repeated in longer tomb inscriptions, such as those of Ankhmahor and Harkhuf.

For dating the Old Kingdom Appeals, I have relied on the studies of Klaus Baer in Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom: The Structure of the Egyptian Administration in the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties (Chicago, 1960) and Yvonne Harpur in Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom: Studies in Orientation and Scene Content (London, 1987).

With the chronology of the first work being based on the inscriptional evidence of titles

¹ Following Verner 2001 p. 585, as opposed to Loprieno 1999 p. 36. It is acknowledged that many scholars would extend the Old Kingdom through to the end of Dynasty Eight.

and the chronology of the second work emphasizing the artistic evidence, a good balance is obtained. Chart 2 summarizes the Old Kingdom chronologies developed by Baer and Harpur. For the date of individual Appeals, after “Old Kingdom” and the Dynasty, an alphanumeric designation is given following those of Baer and Harpur as shown in chart 2. Not every Old Kingdom Appeal can be securely dated and chronological controversy continues that impacts on the present study.²

² A good overview of Old Kingdom chronology with a critical discussion of Baer’s chronology is provided by Strudwick 1985 pp. 2-8. Also noteworthy is the chronological work of N. Kanawati (Kanawati 1977 and 1980).

CHART 2: Chronological Frameworks of Harpur 1987 and Baer 1960

Old Kingdom Chronology of Harpur (1987 p. 34): Dynasties 5 & 6

V.1	Userkaf	7 years (Turin Canon)
V.2	Sahure	12 years (Turin Canon)
V.3	Neferirkare	20 years (Turin Canon)
V.4	Shepseskare	7 years (maybe less)
V.5	Raneferef	10 years (or less)
V.6	Neuserre	24 years (or less)
V.7	Menkauhor	8 years (Turin Canon)
V.8	Isesi/Djedkare	28 years (Turin Canon)
V.9	Unas	30 years (Turin Canon)
VI.1	Teti	30 years (or less)
VI.2	Pepy I	34 years (or less)
VI.3	Merenre	7 years
VI.4	Pepy II	Years 1-34
VI.5	Pepy II	Years 35-54
VI.6	Pepy II	Years 55-85
VI.7	late Dynasty VI – Dynasty VIII	ca. 25 years

Old Kingdom Chronology of Baer (1960 p. 240): Dynasties 5 & 6

V B	From Neferirkare to Djedkare year 16	ca. 40 years
V C	From Djedkare year 16 to Unas year 10	ca. 20 years
V C/VI A	From Unas year 10 to Teti year 10	ca. 30 years
VI B	From Teti year 10 to Merenre	ca. 30 years
VI C	From Merenre to Pepy II year 15	ca. 20 years
VI D	From Pepy II year 15 to Pepy II year 35	20 years
VI E	From Pepy II year 35 to Pepy II year 55	20 years
VI F	From Pepy II year 55 to Pepy II year 85	20 years
VI G	From Pepy II year 85 to end of Dynasty 8	?

OK.1

NAME: IBI,³ Overseer of Upper Egypt
 LOCATION: Deir el-Gebrawi tomb 8
 DATE: Old Kingdom, Dynasty 6 (VI.4/E⁴)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Davies 1902 I pl. 23.
 Kloth 2002 p. 5 (no. 06)
 PM IV pp. 243-4.
 Roccati 1982 pp. 224-6.
 Strudwick 2005 p. 364 (no. 266).

TEXT OK.1: Urk. I 142.15-143.2 East wall of tomb chapel.

dd.f
ir rmtw nb ꜥk.t(y).sn r is.(i) pn
[m ꜥbw].sn
[iw].(i) r itt ts(w.sn) mi 3pd
ink 3h ikr ꜥpr
iw rh.n.i hk3 nb sšt3 n(y) hnw

He says:

As for any people who shall enter this tomb (of mine)
 when they are [in an impure state].
 I will seize (wring) [their] necks like (those of) birds.
 For I am an excellent and (well-) equipped 3h-spirit.
 I have knowledge of every secret magic (spell)
 of the Residence.

OK.2

NAME: INTI,⁵ Overseer of royal fortresses
 LOCATION: Deshasha, rock-cut tomb below top of isolated hill at south
 end of cemetery
 DATE: Old Kingdom, Dynasty 6 (VI.3-4)⁶

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Garnot 1938 pp. 11-18.
 Kanawati and McFarlane 1993 p. 32.
 Kloth 2002 p. 6 (no. 08)
 Petrie 1897 p. 43.
 PM IV pp. 121-2.

³ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 21:10.

⁴ Another chronological designation by dynasty, as explained in chart no. 2 (p.18).

⁵ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 38:23.

⁶ Following Baer 1960 p. 58 & 288 [44], Fischer 1968 p. 11 (n. 51) and Harpur 1987 p. 279 [622], but note that the most recent study of the tomb (Kanawati and McFarlane 1993 p. 19) has argued for a date at the end of Dynasty 5 (reign of Djedkare), which agrees with Petrie's original dating. Kloth's (2002 p. 6) investigation of phraseology, however, supports a mid Dynasty 6 date.

TEXT OK.2:

Urk. I 70.11-71.6 North side of recess in tomb.

mrrw Inpw pw
[rmt] nb k̄.t(y).f(y) r nw
dw3.f n.(i) ntr im
irw n.f mit(y)t' m išt.f

ir hm rmtw nbw
ir.t(y).sn ht dw r nw
ir.t(y).sn ht nbdt r nw
sin.t(y).sn sš im
[wnn] wd̄c-mdw hn̄c.sn hr.s in ntr ʕ3
nb wd̄c-mdw m bw
nty wd̄c-mdw im

ir hm rmt nb mrrw.t(y).f(y) krs.f
m išt.f ir.t(y).f(y) mkwt ht
sb n k3.f⁸
im3hw n(y) ntr ʕ3 pw
sb n k3.f i3w.[f nfrt wrt]

He is beloved of Anubis,
 any[body] who shall enter into this (tomb)
 (if) he will praise the god therein for me,
 (so that) the like will be done for him with his possessions.

Assuredly, as for all people
 (either) who shall do anything harmful to this (tomb)
 (or) who shall do anything destructive to this (tomb)
 (or) who shall deface the writing therein,
 they will be held liable for it by the great god,⁹
 the lord of judgment in the place
 in which judgment is held.

Indeed, as for anyone who shall desire his (own) burial
 with his (own) possessions, and who shall protect the
 property of the one who has passed to his k3,
 he will be honoured by the great god (as)
 one who passes to his k3 at a [very advanced] old age.

⁷ The two “t” signs (Gardiner X1) are actually written as “r” signs (Gardiner D21).

⁸ After the word k3 on this and the next line is a sign of a man lying on a bed. I have interpreted this as an extra determinative for k3. It may also be a rendering of the word sdrw and be translated as a qualitative form meaning “at rest” (asleep).

⁹ Literally translated as “I will be judged together with them (hn̄c.sn) by the great god.” The literal translation will not be provided in subsequent examples of the phrase.

OK.3

NAME: ISI¹⁰
 LOCATION: Saqqara, north of Unas causeway
 DATE: Old Kingdom, Dynasty 6

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Edel 1979 pp. 105-116.
 Fischer 1965 p. 51.
 Helck 1977 pp. 89-93.
 PM III² p. 626.
 Roccati 1982 p. 148.
 Strudwick 2005 p. 281 (no. 209).
 Wild 1959 p. 110.

TEXT OK.3: Edel 1979 p. 107 and Helck 1977 p. 89.
 Eight vertical lines of inscription.

i w^cbw hnty-š nyw nfr-iswt-Wnis
i b3kw nyw pr nb.i
ink 'Isi w^c im.tn

w^cb.tn n Wnis hs(w) (tn) Wnis
w^cb.tn n.f krs.t(w) m hrt-ntr
ir.n.tn rnpwt im3hw

dd n.(i) mw t(i) hnkt n(y) 'Isi
w^c im.tn ir(w) m sht
dd m tp(y)-r
hn^c it.(i) K3-(i)-tpyt mwt.(i) 3st-ib

ink sš ikr rh(w) ht
ir rmt nb rdi.t(y).sn mw
t(i) hnkt n(y).n
iw.(i) r sbt hr.sn m bw nty 3hw im
wnn.(i) m h3y.f m d3d3t ntr ʕ3

O pure ones, attendants of the (pyramid) Nefer-iswt-Unas!
 O servants of the house of my lord!
 I am Isi, one of you.

As you are pure for Unas, so Unas (will) favour (you).
 As you are pure for him, so you (will) be buried in the
 necropolis,
 after you have spent the years of blessedness.

¹⁰ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 45:25.

Give to me (the) water, bread and beer that belong to Isi,
(who is) one of you, who worked in the fields (and)
who spoke with an utterance,
together with (my) father Ka-tepyt and (my) mother Iset-ib.

I am an excellent scribe who knows things.
As for any people who shall give me (the) water,
bread and beer that belongs to us, I shall
intercede for them in the place where the 3h -spirits are and
I shall be his supporter in the tribunal of the great god.

OK.4

NAME: ITETI,¹¹ his beautiful name is Shedu, Overseer of fields
LOCATION: Deshasha tomb
DATE: Old Kingdom, Dynasty 6 (VI.4)¹²

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kanawati and MacFarlane 1993 p. 49 & pl. 45.
Kloth 2002 p. 7 (no. 11)
Morschauser 1987 p. 81.
PM IV pp. 122-3.

TEXT OK. 4 Urk. I 90.2-3. and Petrie 1897 pl. 25.
South side of entrance passage into tomb chapel.

[*ir rmtw nd k.ty.fy r is pn m*] *bw.f*
iw.(i) r itt ts.f mi s[r]

[As for anyone who shall enter this tomb in] his impurity,
I will seize (wring) his neck like that of a *sr*-goose.

¹¹ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 52:16.

¹² Following Baer (1960 p. 288 [73]), Fischer (1968 p. 11 (n.51)) and Harpur (1987 p. 279 [623]), but note that the most recent study of the tomb by Kanawati and MacFarlane (1993 p. 44) has argued for an earlier date at the beginning of Dynasty 6 (reign of Teti), which agrees with Petrie's dating (1897 p. 4). The dating depends on architectural and iconographic features, which would be fairly innovative (but not unparalleled) at the beginning of Dynasty Six, and more commonplace by the middle of the Dynasty. I prefer to follow Baer and Harpur, and feel more comfortable with a mid-Dynasty Six date; I would expect more innovation in the Memphite cemeteries and less in provincial cemeteries, such as Deshasha, which is located south of the Fayum. Kloth (2002 p. 7) places the tomb in the beginning to middle of Dynasty 6 (not before the reign of Teti).

OK.5a-c

NAME:

LOCATION:

DATE:

Three Appeals

ANKHMAHOR,¹³ Chief justice and vizier

Saqqara mastaba tomb near Teti pyramid

Old Kingdom, Dynasty 6 (VI.1L-2E)

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Badawy 1978 pp. 14-15.

Firth and Gunn 1926 pp. 98-101.

Gardiner-Sethe 1928 p. 10 & pl. X2.

Garnot 1938 pp. 27-39.

Kanawati and Hassan 1997 pp. 27-29.

Kloth 2002 p. 10 (no. 19).

PM III² pp. 512-4.

Roccati 1982 pp. 99-100.

Strudwick 2005 pp. 264-5 (no. 197).

Wilson 1954 p. 237.

TEXT OK.5a:

Urk. I 201.17-202.11 on tomb façade to the left.*dd.f**[nfr n.tn] imyw-ht**wd3 n.tn tpyw-^c**ir ht nb ir.ty.tn**r is.(i) pn [ny] hrt-ntr**[ir mityt] ir iswt.tn**ink hry-hb ikr rh(w)**md3t [ny] sp št3 hk3 nb**ir(w.i) ikr**ir rmtw nbw k.ty.sn r is.(i) pn**m bw.sn wnm.sn**bwwt n 3h ikr**n w^cb.sn n.(i)**mi w^cb.sn n 3h ikr**irr hsst nb.f**iw.(i) r itt.f mi 3pd**wdi.i snd.(i) im.f**r m33 3hwt tpyw-t3**snd.sn n 3h ikr**[wnn] wd^c-mdw hn^c.f**m d3d3t tf špst n(y)t ntr ^c3**ir swt s(i) nb k.t(y).f(y) [r is pn]**w^cb htp hr.f**iw.(i) r wnn m h3y.f m hrt-ntr**m d3d3t n(y)t ntr ^c3*¹³ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 64:2.

He says:

[May you be well] o descendants!

May it be prosperous for you, o ancestors!¹⁴

As for anything that you shall do
against this (my) tomb of the necropolis,
the like will be done against your possessions.¹⁵
(For) I am an excellent lector priest who knows
the book of "The Secret Deed of All Magic,"
which I enact expertly.

As for all people who shall enter into this tomb
(of mine) in their impurity, having eaten
things detestable to an excellent *3h*-spirit,
since they do not purify themselves for me,
as they should be pure for an excellent *3h*-spirit
who does what his lord praises.
I will seize him (wring his neck) like a bird and
will set fear of me in him so that
the *3h*-spirits and those who are on earth should see
and should fear an excellent *3h*-spirit.
There will be a judgment together with him
in that noble council of the great god.

But as for anybody who shall enter [this tomb of mine]
who is in a state of purity and who offers upon it,
I will be his protector in the necropolis and
in the council of the great god.

TEXT OK.5b:

Urk. I 202.13-103.4 on tomb façade to right.

[*i hry-hb*] *iw.ty.f(y) r is.(i) pn*
r irt n.(i) ht 3ht
*hft šs pf št3 n(y) hmt hry-hb ...*¹⁶
šd n.(i) s3hw ʿpr ...
šd n.(i) s3hw ...
m bw-mnh n rh.tn

[*n*] *sp dd.(i) ht nb(t) dw n nyswt ...*
iw igr šd n.(i) ...
mr.(i) nfr rn.(i)
hr ntr hr rmtw

¹⁴ A parallel to this phrase is found in the Appeal of Khuiwer (Urk. I 46.10). See Edel 1944 p. 17.

¹⁵ This phrase is also found in the Appeal of Khuiwer (Urk. I 46.12). See Edel 1944 p.18.

¹⁶ Four groups of damaged text ending in *sw rn.f*.

[O (any) lector priest] who shall come to this tomb
(of mine) in order to perform efficacious rites for me
according to that secret writing of the craft of lector priest
..., recite for me the ritual recitations and
recite for me the texts of spiritualization ...
as expertly as you know how.

Never did I say anything evil to the king ...
Now therefore, recite for me ...
because I want my reputation to be good
before god and before mankind.

TEXT OK.5c:

Urk. I 205.1-8 on the sarcophagus lid
in the burial chamber of the tomb.

i rmtw hmntyw wt(yw)
hk3(w) hrt-ntr i3t nbt
h3w.t(y).sn r st tn
(i)n-iw mry.tn hsy tn n(y)swt

prr-hrw.tn m hrt-ntr
wnn im3h.tn hr ntr ʕ3
dd.tn n.(i) ʕ3 pn n krs pn hr mwt.f
m bw mnḥ n rht.tn
mi ir,t(y).sn [n] 3h ikr
irr hsst nb.f
ink ssi n.(i) mrwt

O eighty men, embalmers,
necropolis administrators of every rank
who shall descend to this place,
do you want the king to praise you?

(Then) may you make invocation offerings
in the necropolis.
You will be well revered before the great god.
It is through the efficacy of your knowledge
that you should place this cover of this sarcophagus
upon its mother (the sarcophagus base) for me,
just as you would do for an excellent 3h-spirit,
who does that which his lord praises.
I am Sesi, (worthy) of love.

OK.6

NAME: BIA¹⁷/IRERY, Noble of the king, Companion of the house
 LOCATION: Saqqara tomb near Unas pyramid
 DATE: Old Kingdom, Dynasty 6 (VI.3-4)

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Edel 1958 pp. 3-8.
 Fischer 1965 pp. 49-53.
 Kloth 2002 pp. 12-13 (no. 23).
 PM III² p. 623.
 Roccati 1982 pp. 147-8.
 Strudwick 2005 p. 269 (no. 199).
 Wilson 1954a pp. 256-8.

TEXT OK.6 :

Wilson 1954a fig. 1 (inscription B)
 Left-hand side of lintel.

i ʿnhw tpyw-tʿ
hmw-kʿ nyw pr-dt¹⁸ nb.(i)
hsy tn nb.(i) rʿ nb
iw.tn r dt(t) t(i) hnkt mw dbw-rd¹⁹ nb.(i)

ink wʿ im.tn
dd nfr whm nfr
n sp dd.(i) ht nb(t) dw r rmtw nb²⁰
<i>²¹ n iti.(i) ht nb(t) n(y) s(i) nb
šmʿ.i r s(i) nb

pri-hrw n it.(i)
m snnw nb sʿ nb rmtw nb
sš nb swʿ.t(y).sn hr is.(i) pn
šd.t(y).f(y) ʿʿ pn
iw.(i) [r wnn m] rmnw.f m dʿdʿt ntr ʿʿ

ink hry-hb ikr mʿʿ
imʿhw hr nb.f špss n(y)-swt
smr pr Biʿ

¹⁷ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 93:10.

¹⁸ Fischer 1965 pp. 50-51 notes that the *pr*-sign was omitted from Wilson's hand copy.

¹⁹ Reversion of offerings. See Clère 1939 p. 215f., Garnot 1938 p. 66, Grdseloff 1943 pp. 51-4 and Junker 1929-1955 v. II p. 5f.

²⁰ Edel 1944 pp. 31-35 notes parallels for this phrase in Idu (Urk. I 204.9) and Nekhebu (Urk. I 219.7) and a number of variations.

²¹ Either an error (Wilson notes with "sic"), or the reed leaf from *iti* "to seize" was written in front of the negative arms instead of after.

O those who (still) live on earth,
k3-priests of the estate of (my) lord!²²
 As my lord favours you every day,
 you shall give bread, beer, and water,
 (as) the reversion offering of my lord.

(For) I am one among you,
 who speaks well and who repeats well.
 I never said anything evil against anybody.
 I never took anything belonging to any man
 so that I might be estranged from any man (?).

An invocation offering to my father,
 from every companion, every son, everybody,
 and every scribe who shall pass by this tomb (of mine)
 and who shall read aloud this (false)door!
 I will be his supporter in the council of the great god.

I am a truly effective lector priest,
 honoured by his lord, the royal favourite and
 companion of the house Bia.

OK.7a-b

NAME:

LOCATION:

DATE:

Two Appeals

PEPIANKH HERY-IB,²³ Chief justice and vizier

Meir tomb D2, left side of doorway

Old Kingdom, Dynasty 6 (VI.4-6)

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Blackman 1924 p. 15f.

Doret 1986 p. 75.

Garnot 1938 pp. 70-74.

Gillam 1991 Appendix 3.

Kloth 2002 p. 13 (no. 24).

Lichtheim 1988 pp. 18-20.

Lichtheim 1992 p. 159.

PM IV p. 254.

Roccati 1982 pp. 234-6.

Strudwick 2005 p. 371 (no. 270).

TEXT OK.7a:

Urk. I 223.17-224.11 and Blackman 1924 pl. IVA.

Vertical lines 4-9 of inscription.

²² Fischer (1965 p. 51) and Edel (1958 pp. 3-8) both agree that Bia's non-royal lord must be the vizier Mehu, near whose tomb Bia was buried. Bia is named as a servant in Mehu's tomb.

²³ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 132:1.

i rmtw nb šmw m ḥd iw m ḥnt
ḥnh n.tn n(y)-swt
ḥnh n.tn ntr nty.tn hr.f
dd.tn²⁴ n.i t(i) ḥnkt m nt(y)t m-ḥ.tn
f33.[tn] m-ḥwy.tn wdn.tn m r(3).tn

ir ir.t(y).sn im ḥft ddt.n.(i) ...
iw.(i) ir ḥft mrrt.sn
ink 3ḥ ḥpr r 3ḥw
p3w ḥpr(w)

ink im3ḥ(w) hr n(y)-swt hr ntr ...
mnḥ.n²⁵ gr ḥt nb(t) m-ḥ.(i)
n wḥb.(i) n(y) Ḥwt-ḥr nbt Kīs
n stp.(i)-s3 r ntr r ḥst.n.s

O all people who go north (or) who come south!
 As the king lives for you,
 as the god before whom you are lives for you,²⁶
 from what is in your hands is how you should
 give me bread and beer.
 By means of your two hands is how you should raise it
 up and offer (it) with your mouths.

As for those who shall act there according to what I said ...
 I will act according to what they wish.
 (For) I am an 3ḥ-spirit (better) equipped than
 (other) 3ḥ-spirits and [more blessed than]
 those who came before.

I am blessed by (both) king and deity...
 Because I was a pure one of Hathor, Lady of Cusae and
 because I protected the deity according to what she praised,
 everything in my charge went well.

TEXT OK.7b:

Urk. I 224.12-18 and Blackman 1924 pl. IVA
 Vertical lines 9-11 of inscription.

²⁴ Both *dd.tn* and *f33.tn* are emphatic *sdm.f* forms emphasizing the prepositional phrases and also the way in which the action takes place (manner/nominalization).

²⁵ Another emphatic form emphasizing the adverbial adjuncts *n wḥb.(i) ...* and *n stp.(i)-s3...* formed by a preposition and a circumstantial *sdm.f* form.

²⁶ The two phrases with *ḥnh* are oaths, cf. Wilson 1948 p. 134 (no. 22).

i rmtw nb šmw m hd iww m hnt
ḥnḥ n.tn n(y)-swt
ḥnḥ n.tn ntr nty.tn hr.f
ddt.tn s3h hwt-hr nbt Kīs ...
imy-r(3) hm(w) ntr Ppy-ḥnḥ hry-ib

ir rmtw nb dd.(ty).sn
iw [hwt-hr nbt Kīs] r irt mrrt.sn ...

O all people who go north (or) who come south!
 As the king lives for you, and
 as the deity before whom you are lives for you,
 what you should say is “May Hathor, Lady of Cusae
 transfigure ... and the Chief priest Pepiankh-hery-ib.

As for all people who shall speak (such things),
 [Hathor, Lady of Cusae] will do what they want ...

OK.8

NAME: PEPINI
 LOCATION: Abydos, stela CG 1579
 DATE: Old Kingdom, Dynasty 6 (VI.3-4)
 BIBLIOGRAPHY: Garnot 1938 pp. 58-60.
 Lichtheim 1992 pp. 157-8.
 TEXT OK.8: Urk. I 112.5-9.

i ḥnw tpyw-t3
b3kw mityw.(i)
wnn.t(y).sn [m] šms(w) ntr
dd.t(y).sn h3 t(i)
h3 hnkt h3 k3w h3 3pdw
n h3ty-ḥ m3ḥ ... Ppy.n.i

O those who (still) live on earth,
 servants like myself!
 Those who will be [in] the following of the god
 are those who will say²⁷ 1000 bread,
 1000 beer, 1000 beef, 1000 fowl
 for the true h3ty-ḥ ... Pepini.

²⁷ As Garnot (1938 p. 59) states, this is the only case where the logical subject and predicate are both *sgm.ty.fy* forms. Those who invoke offerings are approved as *wnn.ty.sn (m) šms ntr* “who will be in the following of the great god” (Fischer 1976 p. 190).

OK.9a-b

NAME:

LOCATION:

DATE:

Two Appeals

PEHENWIKAI,²⁸ Chief Justice and Vizier

Saqqara mastaba D70, now Berlin Museum no. 304

Old Kingdom, Dynasty 5 (V.6-8E)

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Lepsius 1972 II p. 46.

PM III² pp. 491-2.

Schäfer 1901-03 I p. 13.

Strudwick 2005 p. 232 (no. 146).

TEXT OK.9:

Urk. I 48.11-49.11.

Vertical inscription to right and left of door.

a) right side

[*ir rmt nb 'k.ty.fy hrt*]²⁹ *šps pw m 'bw.f*
ir rmt nb 'k.t(y).f(y) hrt šps pn m 'bw.f
wnn wḏ'-mdw hn'.f m bw nt(y) wḏ'-mdw im
n sp iry.(i) ht ḏw(t) r ht n(y)t rmtw nbw

[As for any person who shall enter] this august [tomb]
 in his impurity (to repeat --)
 as for any person who shall enter this august tomb
 in his impurity,
 he will be liable in the place in which judgment (is made).
 I never did anything evil against anyone's possession.

b) left side

[*ir.n.i is pw*] *m im3h hr n(y)-swt*
[ir] rmtw nbw 'k.t(y).sn im.f m 'bw.sn
ir.t(y).sn ht ḏw(t) r.f
m-ht nn ḏd(w).n.(i)
wnn [wḏ']-mdw [hn]'.sn m bw wḏ'-mdw im

It was on account of my being honoured by the king
 [that I made this tomb].
 As for any people who shall enter into it in their impurity,
 (or) who shall do anything harmful against it,
 after these things that I have spoken,
 they will be held liable in the place of judgment.

²⁸ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 135:32.

²⁹ According to Sethe's reconstruction, the same line seems to be repeated twice. There are some differences in the preserved sections of text (e.g. *pw* vs. *pn*) and it may be that there were originally two different, but parallel clauses used for emphasis here.

OK.10a-b

NAME: MERYRANEFER,³⁰ also called Qar
 LOCATION: Edfu, now CG 43371
 DATE: Old Kingdom, Dynasty 6 (VI.4)

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Daressy 1917 pp. 136-7.
 El-Khadragy 2002 pp. 203-28.
 Garnot 1938 pp. 56-7.
 Lichtheim 1992 p. 156.
 PM V p. 200.
 Roccati 1982 pp. 178-9.
 Strudwick 2005 p. 342 (no. 247).

TEXT OK.10a:

Urk. I 252.2-5 from left jamb of false door.

i ʿnhw tpyw-t3
ʿk.t(y).sn r is pn n(y) hrt-ntr
mrrw hs sn ntr.sn
ddw t(i) hnkt k3w 3pdw
m im3hw hr Pth rsy inb.f
smr wʿty hry-hb (Mry-rʿ)|-nfr

O those who (still) live on earth,
 who shall enter this tomb of the necropolis,
 who want their (local) deity to praise them!
 Say (1000) bread, beer, beef and fowl
 for the one honoured by Ptah south-of-his-wall,
 the select companion and lector priest Meryranefer.³¹

TEXT OK.10b:

Urk. I 255.9-11. On last line of false door architrave.

i ʿnhw tpyw-t3
sw3.t(y).sn hr is.(i) pn
mrrw n(y)-swt dd.t(y).sn
h3 t(i) h3 hnkt h3 k3w
n smr wʿty (Mry-rʿ)|-nfr

O those who (still) live on earth,
 who shall pass by this tomb (of mine)!
 Beloved of the king are those who shall say:
 1000 bread, 1000 beer, 1000 beef
 for the select companion Meryranefer.

³⁰ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 161:2.

³¹ The text in Urk. I 252 and in Daressy (1917 p. 131) both give the name as Meryranefer. Garnot (1938 p. 56) gives the text as reading "Pepynefer." Meryra is the prenomen of Pepy I.

OK.11

NAME: MERY-KHUFU,³² Prophet of Chephren and Mycerinus
 LOCATION: Giza, rock-cut tomb north of causeway of Cheops
 DATE: Old Kingdom, Dynasty 5-6 (V.9-VI.1)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Fakhry 1935 pp. 19-25.
 PM III² pp. 213-4.
 Strudwick 2005 p. 255 (no. 184).

TEXT OK.11: Fakhry 1935 p. 21 (fig. 12). On left doorjamb to tomb.

Mry-(hwfw)| nb im3h hr (Mn-k3w-r^c)|
ir.n n.(i) nb.(i) nw r im3h.(i)
ir.t(y).f(y) ht dwt ir.s
wnn wd^c-mdw hn^c.f hr.s in ntr^c3
iw.(i) sh^tp.n.(i) hmwt irtw.n.[f st]

In order to honour me,
 my lord has made this tomb for me, Mery-khufu,
 possessor of reverence by Mycerinus.
 He who shall do anything harmful to it (the tomb),
 he will be held liable for it by the great god.
 I have satisfied (i.e. paid) the artisans who made it.

OK.12

NAME: MERERUKA,³³ Chief Justice and Vizier,
 Inspector of God's servants of the Pyramid of Teti.
 LOCATION: Saqqara mastaba tomb near Teti pyramid
 DATE: Old Kingdom, Dynasty 6 (VI.1M)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Duell *et al.* 1938 v.2 pl. 213.
 Edel 1944 p. 56f.
 Garnot 1938 p. 77.
 PM III² pp. 525-534.
 Sottas 1913 p. 78.
 Strudwick 2005 p. 236 (no. 150).³⁴

TEXT OK.12: Urk. I 87.13-88.7. Beside tomb entrance.

³² Ranke 1935 v. I p. 161:8.

³³ Ibid. v. I p. 162:27.

³⁴ Conflated with the Appeal of Ti (OK.31).

[ir rmtw nbw ʕk.ty.s]n r is.(i)
 mi wʕb.sn r hwt-ntr n(y)t ntr
 wnn wdʕ-mdw hnʕ.sn hr.s ...

[ink ʒh ikr] ...
 m wnw hry-hb
 iw igr bs.k(wi) ...
 [iw gr r]h.k(wi) iʕ.t(y).f(y) n.li n ntr ʕʒ
 iw gr rh.k(wi) špss.t(y).f(y) n.li [hr ntr ʕʒ]

[ink] ... [ir] m šht
 ny rdi.(i) hpr ht nb msddt.f dt

dd.(i) nw r-dr.(f) rmtw nbw
 ʕk.t(y).sn r is.(i) pn dt

[As for any people who shall enter] into (my) tomb
 in the way in which they (should) be pure
 for the temple of the god,
 they will be held liable for it ...

[I am an effective ʒh –spirit] ...
 through my service as a lector priest.
 since I have been initiated³⁵ ...
 I know now the means through which
 one shall ascend to the great god.
 I know now the means through which
 one shall be ennobled [by the great god].

[I am one] ... [who acts] like a worker in the fields³⁶
 without allowing anything which he hates to ever happen³⁷

I am telling all these things (to) everyone
 who shall ever enter this (my) tomb of eternity ...

³⁵ See J-M. Krutchen 1989 for an extensive discussion of the verb *bsi* as “initiate.” It could indicate authorized access, in this instance to a collection of sacred texts.

³⁶ i.e. diligently.

³⁷ See Doret 1986 p. 37 for *ny sdm.f* as a negative form with circumstantial meaning. This phrase is paralleled in the tomb of Ti (*Urk.* I 174.5-6) where the next line reads “without letting any blame be put on him by god.”

OK.13

NAME: METJETJY,³⁸ Noble of the king
 Overseer of the department of tenants of the great house
 LOCATION: Saqqara tomb, now in Berlin (no. 32190) and in private
 collection in Switzerland
 DATE: Old Kingdom, Dynasty 6 (VI.1-2)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Goelet 1986 p. 87.
 Kaplony 1968 pp. 30-31.
 Kaplony 1976 pp. 36-7.
 Kloth 2002 pp. 20-21 (no. 39).
 PM III² pp. 646-7.
 Roccati 1982 p. 146.
 Strudwick 2005 p. 298 (no. 222).
 Ziegler 1999 p. 411.

TEXT OK.13: Kaplony 1968 pl. III. Right side of tomb façade.

[i ʿnh]w ntyw tpyw-t3
dw3 n(y)-swt ʿnh.tn
rsw.tn r k3t.f
stp-s3 r wdt.f
ir mrrt.f
iw.(fr) 3h n ir [r irrw n.f st]

im3h pw mrrw ntr.f
iw.f(r) wd3 hr.s
nfr ssm.f r ʿhʿw nb n(y) ʿnh.f
iw.(fr) 3h n.f hr ntr
[m hrt-ntr nfr n(y) imnt(y)t]

i rmtw nb iw.ty.sn r is.(i) pn
ndm-ib.tn m Wsir nb krs
dd.tn di.tw t(i) hnkt wʿb n
(i)my-r(3) st hnty-š pr-ʿ3 Mtti
im3h.tn m Inpw nb imnt(y)t

prrt-hrw.tn
m ht nb wnnt.s m ʿ.tn
pr.tw hrw im n 3h
ink 3h ikr
ink sš ikr ir.tw n.f

nn is wnt iw t(i) hnkt n s(i)
sbi.f hr.f m hrt-ntr

³⁸ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 167:24.

ir.f ht dw r 3h nb
wn sm3.f t3 r imnt(y)t nfrt

ir gr ink wnn im3h
hr 3h(w) m hrt-ntr
iw hsw.(i) m r(3) n(y) srw
iw is 3h rdit t(i) hnkt n imyw hrt-ntr

ir s3.(i) nb sn.i nb s(i) nb n(y) dt.(i)
nw.ty.fy r prt- hrw n.(i)
r rdit n.(i) t(i) hnkt
iw.(i) r rdit rh.f 3h
prt-hrw n 3h n hrt-ntr

[O those who still live] and who are upon earth,
 praise the king (as long as) you live.
 Be vigilant toward his work.
 Be protective toward what he orders!
 Do what he desires!
 It will be more beneficial to the one who acts
 [than for the one for whom it is done].

One whom his god loves will be revered;
 he will be prosperous because of it.
 His conduct will be successful all the course of his life.
 It will be beneficial to him with the god
 [in the beautiful necropolis of the west].

O all people who shall come to this tomb (of mine),
 may you rejoice with Osiris, lord of burial.
 If you say "may pure bread and beer be given to the
 Overseer of the place of the palace tenant-farmers,
 Methethy,"
 may you be honoured by Anubis, lord of the west.

May you invoke offerings
 consisting of everything that is in your hands.
 May you invoke offerings thereof for an 3h spirit.
 I am an excellent 3h spirit.
 I am an excellent scribe for whom one acts.

There will be no bread and beer for a man
 should he transgress against him in the necropolis
 (or) should he act harmfully against any 3h-spirit
 who exists buried in the beautiful west.

As for me, I am one honoured
amongst the *3h* spirits of the necropolis.
Praise of me is still in the mouths of officials.
Giving bread and beer to those in the necropolis
is a beneficial deed.

As for any son (of mine), any brother (of mine),
any man of my estate,
who shall come to make invocation offerings for me,
in order to give me bread and beer,
I will cause that he know that it is beneficial to make
invocation offerings for an *3h* spirit in the necropolis.

OK.14a-b

NAME:

Two Appeals

NYANKHPEPY,³⁹ Overseer of attendants
of the Pyramid of Pepy I

LOCATION:

Saqqara, usurped tomb near Unas pyramid

DATE:

Old Kingdom, Dynasty 6 (VI.6-7 reuse)

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Doret 1986 p. 31.

Hassan 1975 v.2 pp. 4-12.

PM III² p. 630.

Strudwick 2005 pp. 228-9 (no. 143)

TEXT OK.14a:

Hassan 1975 v. 2 fig. 4. Seven vertical columns
of inscription on right jamb of false door.

smr w^cty h^ry-^hb špss n(y)-swt Ny-^cn^h-Ppy dd.f

ir rm^tw nb ir.t(y).sn ht nbt dw(t)

r is.(i) pn n(y) hrt-ntr

di.ty.f(y) itt inr im.f hr mwt.f

iw.(i r) sdm mdw hn^c.f m d3d3t.f špst i^krt

n(y) ntr ^c3 nb imnt(y)t

iw.(i r) itt ts.f mi 3pd

dy snd im.f

r m33 tpyw-t3 ^cn^hw

snd.sn n 3^hw i^krw

ink 3^h i^kr

ny sp št3 h^k3 nb r.i i^kr

ink h^ry-^hb i^kr rh-^ht

³⁹ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 171:9.

Select companion, lector priest, royal noble
Ny-ankh-pepy, he says:

As for any people who shall do anything harmful
against this tomb (of mine) of the necropolis (or)
who shall cause a stone to be taken from its mother!⁴⁰
I will be judged with him in his noble and effective
council of the great god, lord of the West and
I will seize (wring) his neck like (that of) a bird,
so that fear may be placed in him,
those who are a (still) living on earth may see,
and so that they may fear the effective ʒh spirits.

I am an effective ʒh spirit.
No magic secrets are effective against me.
I am an excellent lector priest and a learned man.

TEXT OK.14b:

Hassan 1975 v. 2 fig. 5. Six vertical columns
of inscription on left jamb of false door.

smr-w^cty hry-hb špss n(y)-swt
smr pr-(^cʒ) dd.f

i ^cnḥw tpyw-tʒ
imʒḥw mrw nṯr
swʒ.t(y).sn ḥr is.(i) pn

sti n.i mw ḥnkt m nt(y)t m-ḥt.tn
ir nfr n wnn m-ḥt.tn
dd.kʒ.tn m r(ʒ).tn
wdn m-^c.tn t(i) ḥnkt kʒw ʒpdw snṯr w^cb
n šps n(y)-swt smr pr
sš Ny-^cnḥ-Ppy

Select companion, lector priest, royal noble,
friend of the palace, he says:

O those who (still) live upon earth,
the revered ones who love god,
who shall pass by this tomb (of mine)!

Pour out water and beer for me
from that which is in your possession.
If there is nothing in your possession,

⁴⁰ This refers to removing the lid of the sarcophagus from the lower portion.

then you should speak with your mouth
and offer with your hand bread, beer,
beef, fowl, incense and pure things
for the royal noble, friend of the palace,
the scribe Ny-ankh-pepy.

OK.15

NAME:

NENKI or NIKAPEPY, One who sets right the judgment

LOCATION:

Saqqara tomb O.1 west of Pepy II pyramid

DATE:

Old Kingdom, Dynasty 6 (VI.4-5)

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Gardiner-Sethe 1928 p. 10.

PM III² p. 686.

Wilson 1954 p. 327.

TEXT OK.15:

Urk. I 260.11-18 and Gardiner-Sethe 1928 pl. 10.
Lintel (lines 11-14) and doorjamb (lines 16-18).

dd.f

ir is pn ir(w).n.i m imnt(y)t hrt-ntr

ir.n.(i) sw [m] st w^cbt hry(t)-ib.

ir s^ch nb sr nb rmtw nb

sšn.t(y).f(y) inr nb db^ct nb(t) m is.(i) pn

iw.(i) r wd^c hn^c f in ntr ʿ3

iw.(i) [r] itt ts.f ml 3pd

iw.(i) r rdit snd ʿnhw nb tpyw-t3

n 3hw imyw imnt(y)t hr(y)t r.sn

He says:

As for this tomb which I have made in the west
of the necropolis,

it is in a clean and central place that I have made it.

Any noble, any official or anybody who shall rip out
any stone or any brick from this tomb (of mine),

he will be held liable by the great god.

I will seize (wring) his neck like (that of) a bird,

and will cause all those who live on earth to fear the

3h-spirits who are in the West, which is far from them.

OK.16a-c

Three Appeals inscribed in vertical columns on a doorjamb
leading into tomb chapel, now in Cairo Museum.

NAME: NEKHEBU,⁴¹ Overseer of all works of the king
 LOCATION: Giza tomb G2381-2, now in Boston (MFA 13.4331)
 and Cairo Museum (JE 44608).
 DATE: Old Kingdom, Dynasty 6 (VI.2)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Clère 1940 pp. 111-121.
 Dunham 1938 pp. 1-8.
 Garnot 1937-38 pp. 63-74.
 Garnot 1938 pp. 46-54.
 Lichtheim 1988 pp. 11-14.
 PM III² pp. 89-91.
 Rahamut 1983 pp. 48-50.
 Reisner 1913 pp. 65-66.
 Roccati 1982 pp. 181-6.
 Strudwick 2005 p. 268 (no. 198).

TEXT OK.16a: Appeal to *k3*-priests (Cairo Museum)
Urk. I 217.15-218.4.

i hmw-k3 n(y)w im3hw
in iw mry.n.tn hs tn n(y)-swt
wnn im3h.tn hr nb itw.tn m hrt-ntr

pr.tn hrw [m] t(i) hnkt mi irt.n.(i) n tfw.tn
dr wnn mr.n.tn sb.(i) hr.tn m hrt-ntr
dd.tn n hrdw.tn hrw s3(w).n.i im
mdt n(y)t prt-hrw n.(i) ...

O *k3*-priests of the revered dead!
 Do you want the king to praise you?
 (Do you want) to be revered by your lords and
 (by) your (fore)fathers in the necropolis?

Then make invocation-offerings of bread and beer
 in the same way as I have done for your ancestors.
 Since you want me to watch over you in the necropolis,
 tell your children on the day wherein I have departed
 the words of the invocation offering (of bread and beer)
 for me ...

TEXT OK.16b: First Appeal to the living (Cairo Museum)
Urk. I 218.7-14.

⁴¹ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 209:14.

i ʕnhw tpyw-t3
s3.[ty.s]n hr is.(i) pn
ir wn mry.tn hs tn n(y)-swt
wnn im3h hr ntr ʕ3
ʕk.tn w⁴² r is.(i) pn sbt.[tywny]
n.tn hr bw.tn

ir s(i) nb ʕk.ty.f(y) im sb(t) m-ht nn
iw.(i) r wdʕ hnʕ.f in ntr ʕ3
iw.(i) dr tpyw.sn t3 ʕrrkt.sn tp-t3

O those who (still) live on earth,
 who shall linger at this tomb (of mine)!
 If you want the king to favour you (or)
 to be revered before the great god,
 do not enter this tomb (of mine) in an unclean state,
 or when you are impure!

As for anybody who shall enter therein uncleanly,
 in spite of this,
 he will be held liable by the great god and
 I will destroy their earthly descendants and
 their dwellings on earth.

TEXT OK.16c:

Second Appeal to the living (Cairo Museum)
Urk. I 218.15-219.5.

i ʕnhw tpyw-t3
sw3.(ty).sn hr is.(i) pn
in-iw mry.n.tn hs tn n(y)-swt
wnn im3h.tn hr ntr ʕ3
dd.tn h3 t(i) h3 hnkt n Nhbw im3hw

nfr-n sšn.tn ht nb(t) m is.(i) pn
ink 3h [ikr] ʕpr
ir s(i) nb sšn.t(y).f(y) ht nb(t) m is.(i) pn
iw.(i) r wdʕ hnʕ.s[n] in ntr ʕ3

ink dd nfrt whm nfrt
n sp dd.(i) ht dw(t) r rmt nb

O those who (still) live on earth,
 who shall pass by this tomb (of mine)!
 Did you want the king to praise you or
 to be revered before the great god?

⁴² Negation used in prohibitions, cf. Gardiner 1957 p. 267.

(Then) you should say 1000 bread and beer
for Nekhebu, the honoured one.

Do not destroy anything in this tomb (of mine),
for I am an (excellent and well-)equipped *3ḥ* spirit.
As for any man who shall destroy anything in this tomb
(of mine), he will be held liable by the great god.

I am one who speaks well and who repeats well.
Never did I speak anything harmful to any person.

OK.17

NAME:

NEDJEMIB,⁴³ Overseer of metal workers

LOCATION:

Saqqara tomb E14, stela CG 1732

DATE:

Old Kingdom, Dynasty 6 (VI.1-4)

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Borchardt 1964 p. 162.
Breasted 1906 I p. 125 (no. 279)
Garnot 1938 pp. 24-26.
Kloth 2002 p.23 (no. 46).
Mariette 1889 p. 417.
PM III² p. 611.
Roccati 1928 pp. 142-3.
Strudwick 2005 p. 226 (no. 141).

TEXT OK. 17:

Urk. I 75.8-16.

i ʿnhw tpyw-t3
sw3.t(y).sn hr is.(i) pn
sti n.(i) mw ink hry-sšt3
pr n.(i) prt-hrw t(i) hnkt m nt(y)t m-ht.tn
ink mry(w) rmtw

n sp hw.t(w.i) m-b3ḥ sr nb
dr mst.(i)
n sp it.(i) ht rmtw nb m ʿw3
ink ir ḥsst rmtw nb

O those who (still) live on earth,
who shall pass by this tomb (of mine)!
Pour out water for me (for) I am a master of secrets.
Set forth an invocation offering of bread and beer for me,
from that which accompanies you,
(for) I am one whom the people love.

⁴³ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 215:9.

Never was I beaten in the presence of any official
since my birth.
Never did I seize the property of any person by robbery,
(for) I am one who did that which all people praise.

OK.18

NAME:

REMENUKA, Herdsman and director of pastures

LOCATION:

Giza, Small mastaba in Chephren cemetery

DATE:

Old Kingdom, Dynasty 6

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Doret 1986 p. 78.
Hassan 1936 II, pp. 168-178.
PM III² p. 261.
Strudwick 2005 p. 257 (no. 188).

TEXT OK.18:

Hassan 1936 p. 173 (fig. 206) & pl. 61.2
Three horizontal lines of inscription on lintel.

mrr n(y)-swt pw Inpw tpy dw.f
tm srwi wn m is.(i) pn
m rmtw nb prrw r imnt(y)t

ir is pn n(y) dt
ir.n.(i) sw m-šwt lm3h.(i) nfr
hr rmt hr ntr
n hm sp in.t(w) n.(i) inr
n(y) rmtw nbw r is.(i) pn
m sh3.t(w) wd^c-mdw m imnt(y)t

ir(w).n is pn hr t(i) hnkt
rdi(w).n.(i) n hmwt nb(wt) irwt is pn
sk igr rdi.n.(i) n.sn db3w r-3t wrt
m sšr nb dbh(w).n.sn dw3(w).n.sn ntr hr.s

It is he who loves the king and Anubis upon his mountain
who shall not remove what exists from this (my) tomb or
from any people who go forth to the West.

As for this tomb of eternity,
it was on account of my being well honoured by (both)
people and deity that I made it.
Never was a stone belonging to anyone (else)
brought to me for this (my) tomb,
because the judgment in the West was remembered.

It was in exchange for the bread and beer
which I gave to all the craftsmen who built this tomb,
that this tomb was constructed.
For indeed I had given to them exceedingly large
compensation in every respect for which they asked
and for which they praised god (i.e. gave thanks).

OK.19

NAME: HERMERU,⁴⁴ Prophet and attendant at the Unas pyramid
LOCATION: Saqqara, near Unas pyramid
DATE: Old Kingdom, Dynasty 6 (late)⁴⁵

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Clère 1939 p. 216.
Doret 1986 p. 31.
Hassan 1975 v. 3 pp. 75-78.
Kloth 2002 p. 25 (no. 50).
PM III² p. 626.
Strudwick 2005 p. 220 (no. 133).

TEXT OK.19: Hassan 1975 v. 3 p. 77 (fig. 39)
Horizontal lines 6 & 7 on lintel.

dd.f
ink 3h ikr rh hwt
dd nfr whm nfr
n-sp dd.(i) iry.(i) ht nb(t) dw(t) r rmtw nbw
mr.(i) m3^c n.(i) hr ntr
nfr n.(i) hr rmtw

ir.tw ht nb(t) dw(t) r is.(i) pn
k.t(y).f(y) r.f sb
iw.(i) r itt.[f] mi s(rw)
wd^c.k(wi) hn^c.f m d3d3t ntr 3

ir swt nb(t)
prr-hrw t(i) hnkt
sti.t(y).sn mw
w^cb.t(y).sn mi w^cb ntr
tw.(i) r h3l.f m hrt-ntr

He says:

I am an effective 3h-spirit who knows the rites,

⁴⁴ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 252:4.

⁴⁵ Following Baer (1960 p. 106) who gives Dynasty VI. But note that Harpur (1987 p. 275) gives VI.7 and Kloth (2002 p. 25) says "Ende 6-8."

who speaks well and who repeats well.
 I have never said nor done anything evil against anyone,
 because I wished to be in harmony with god (and)
 to be (in) good with the people.

Should anything evil be done against this tomb (of mine)
 (or) should one enter into it (with) hostility,
 I will seize (him) like a *sr*-goose (i.e. wring his neck)
 and I will hold him liable in the court of the great god.

But as for everyone (who shall make)
 an invocation offering of bread and beer,
 who shall libate water and
 who shall be pure as the god is pure,
 I will be his protection in the necropolis.

OK.20

NAME:

HARKHUF,⁴⁶ Overseer of Upper Egypt, Royal sealbearer

LOCATION:

Aswan, Qubbet el-Hawa tomb V8

DATE:

Old Kingdom, Dynasty 6 (VI.4)

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Breasted 1906 I p. 152 (no. 329).

Breasted 1912 p. 169.

Garnot 1938 pp. 63-4.

Kloth 2002 pp. 24-25 (no. 49).

Lichtheim 1975 I pp. 23-27.

PM V p. 237.

Roccati 1982 pp. 200-207.

Simpson 2003 pp. 407-12.

Sottas 1913 p. 66.

Strudwick 2005 p. 329 (no. 241).

TEXT OK. 20:

Urk. I 122.9-123.4. Over tomb entrance.

i ʿnhw tpyw-t3
[sw3.ty.sn hr is.i pn m]
hd m hsfwt
dd.ty.sn h3 t(i) h3 hnkt
n nb n(y) is pn
iw.(i) r sbt hr.sn m hrt-ntr

ink 3h ikr ʿpr
hry-hb rh r(3).f

⁴⁶ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 265:16 as *hʿi.f-hrw*.

*ir rmt nb ʿk.t(y).f(y) r is [pn m ʿbw.f]
 [lw.(i) r itt].f mi 3pd
 iw.f r wdʿ hr.s in ntr ʿ3*

*ink dd nfr
 whm mrr(y)t
 n-sp dd.(i) ht nb(t) dw(t)
 n shm-ir.f r rmtw nbw
 mr.n.(i) nfr n.(i) hr ntr ʿ3
 n-sp [wdʿ.i hnʿ snswnwy ...]
 m sp sšwi.i s3 m hrt it.f*

O those who (still) live on earth and
 [those who shall pass by this tomb of mine]
 (either) going downstream of faring upstream and
 who shall say “1000 bread and 1000 beer
 for the owner of this tomb,”
 I will watch over them in the necropolis.

I am an 3h-spirit, (properly) skilled and equipped,
 a lector priest who knows his spells. As for
 any person who shall enter this tomb [in his impurity],
 [I will seize] him (wring his neck) like a bird,
 and he shall be judged for it by the great god.

I am one who spoke what is good,
 and who repeated what is liked.
 I never said anything evil
 against any man to someone in authority,
 for I wanted it (to go) well for me before the great god.
 Never [did I judge between two contestants ...] in such
 a way that I deprived a son of his father’s possessions.

OK.21

NAME:

HETEPENIPTAH,⁴⁷ Overseer of tenant-farmers

LOCATION:

Giza, tomb G2430 false door

DATE:

Old Kingdom, Dynasty 6 (VI.1-4)

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Altenmüller 1981 pp. 9-56.
 Badawy 1978 pp. 5-7.
 Garnot 1938 pp. 19-21.
 Kloth 2002 p. 26 (no. 53).
 PM III² pp. 94-5.
 Strudwick 2005 p. 229 (no. 144).

⁴⁷ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 258:14.

TEXT OK.21: Urk. I 187.4-6. Southern pillar, east side.

[*mrrw n(y)-swt Inpw pw*]⁴⁸
hry-hb iw.t(y).f(y) r is pn n(y) dt
*r irt ht hft [ss pf n hmw]t*⁴⁹ *hry-hb*

ir(w) n.(i) cpr
hft irt c.f

[He will be beloved of the king and Anubis],
 the lector priest who shall come into this tomb of
 eternity in order to perform the cult in accordance with
 [the writings of the craft] of a lector priest.

May (burial) equipment be made for me
 in accordance with what his scroll specifies ...

OK.22

NAME: HETEP-HER-AKHET,⁵⁰ Senior elder of the portal
 and Prophet of the Sun temple of Nyuserre
 LOCATION: Saqqara tomb D60
 DATE: Old Kingdom, Dynasty 5 (V.6-8E)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Breasted 1906 I p. 115 (no. 253).
 Lichtheim 1975 v. I p. 16.
 Lichtheim 1988 p. 11.
 Kloth 2002 p. 27 (no. 54).
 Malek 1986 p. 62.
 Mohr 1943 pp. 33-35.
 PM III² pp. 593-5.
 Strudwick 2005 p. 274 (no. 202).

TEXT OK.22: Urk. I 50.11-51.3.
 Four vertical columns of text to right of tomb entrance.

s3b šmsw h3yt Htp-hr-3h(t) dd.f
ir.n.(i) is pw hr rmn imnty(t) m st w^cbt
n⁵¹ wnt is im n(y) rmt nb
n-mrt mk.t(w) ht sbi n k3.f⁵²

⁴⁸ Restored by Sethe according to Urk. I 186.14 (Kaikherptah).

⁴⁹ Restored by Sethe according to Urk. I 186.15 and 202.16 (Ankhmahor).

⁵⁰ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 258:24.

⁵¹ Written as *nm* (Sethe gives "so").

⁵² Kloth 2002 p. 125 (section 3.3.7.3 no. 3 on "Errichtung des Grabes").

*ir rmtw nb(w) ꜥk.ty.sn ir is.(i) pw
 m ꜥbw.sn ir.ty.sn ht dw(t) ir nw
 wnn wdꜥ-mdw hnꜥ.sn hr.s in ntr ꜥ3
 ir.n.(i) is pw
 m-šwt im3h hr n(y)-swt in n.(i) krs*

The senior elder of the portal, Hetep-her-akhet says:
 It was in a pure place, on the west side (of Zoser's
 step pyramid at Saqqara), that I made this tomb.
 Nobody had a tomb there (previously)
 in order that the property of the one
 who had passed to his *k3* might be protected.

As for anyone who shall enter into this tomb (of mine)
 in their impurity, or who shall do anything evil to it,
 they will be held liable for it by the great god.
 It was on account of my being honoured by the king,
 who brought tomb equipment for me, that I made this tomb.

OK.23a-b

NAME:

Two Appeals

KHUI,⁵³ Overseer of Upper Egypt,
 Prophet of the Pyramid of Pepy I
 Saqqara tomb near Teti pyramid,
 Old Kingdom, Dynasty 6 (VI.4-5)

LOCATION:

DATE:

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Drioton 1943 pp. 502-4.
 Lichtheim 1992 pp. 157-9.
 Lloyd, Spencer and El-Khouli 1990 p. 38.
 PM III² p. 519.
 Strudwick 2005 p. 221-2 (no. 136).

TEXT OK.23a:

Drioton 1943 pp. 503-4. On west wall of the passage.

*mrrw n(y)-swt pw
 mrrw Inpw tpy dw.f pw
 hry-hb nb iw.t(y).f(y)
 r ir(t) n.(i) s3hw
 wdhw hft sš pf št3 hmt hry-hb
 šd 3hw ipf ꜥpr
 mi ir.t(y).tn n n(y)-swt nb (m) mity*

⁵³ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 267:12.

ink 3h ikr
iw rh.k(wi) hk3 nb ikr
rhw 3h nb ikr
krs w m is.f n(y) hrt-ntr
m smyt imnt(y)t

Beloved of the king and
 beloved of Anubis who-is-on-his-mountain
 will be every lector priest who shall come
 in order to make ritual recitations for me
 (and to make) offerings according to that
 secret writing of the craft of the lector priest,
 reading those well-equipped spells
 as you shall do for every king as well.

For I am an effective 3h-spirit,
 who knows every effective magic spell and
 who knows every (other) effective 3h-spirit
 who is buried in his tomb of the necropolis
 in the western desert.

TEXT OK.23b:

Drioton 1943 p. 503. On the east wall of the passage.

i nhw tpyw-t3
im3hw mrrw ntr
sw3.t(y).sn hr is pn n(y) hrt-ntr

dd.tn n.i t(i) hnk t m nt(y)t m-ht.tn
ir nfr-n wnn m-ht.tn
dd.k3.tn m r3.tn wdn m r.tn
h3 m sntr h3 m ss
mnht 3pdw k3w ghs(w) k3.tn

O those who (still) live on earth,
 revered ones whom the god loves,
 who shall pass by this tomb of the necropolis!

From that which is in your possession is how
 you should give me bread and beer.⁵⁴
 If there is nothing in your possession,
 then say with your mouth and offer with your arm,
 1000 of incense, 1000 of alabaster (vessels) and
 clothing, fowl, beef, and gazelle, so shall you say.

⁵⁴ Taking *dd.tn* as a second tense form emphasizing the prepositional phrase indicating how the offering is to be made.

OK.24a-b

NAME:

LOCATION:

DATE:

Two Appeals

KHENTIKA,⁵⁵ Chief justice and vizier

Saqqara mastaba near Teti pyramid

Old Kingdom, Dynasty 6 (VI.2M)

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Gardiner-Sethe 1928 p. 10.

Garnot 1938 pp. 40-41.

James 1953 pp. 37-39.

Kloth 2002 p. 29 (no. 60).

Nordh 1996 p. 76.

PM III² pp. 508-511.

Roccati 1982 pp. 164-8.

Strudwick 2005 p. 290 (no. 216) and p. 424 (no. 322)

Wild 1955 pp. 15-16.

TEXT OK.24a:

Gardiner-Sethe 1928 pl. X and James 1953 pls. 5-6.

Lines C3-C8 and B13-B15 on north and south sides
of tomb entrance façade.

hry sšt3 n(y) wḏ-mdw nbt Hnty-k3
rn.f nfr [T]hhi ḏd.f ...

rmṯw nbw sw3.t(y).sn hr is.(i) pn ...
t(i) hnkt mw m nt(y)t m-ht.tn
ḏd.k3.tn m r(3).tn
wḏn m ʿwy.tn
h3 m sntr šs h3 m mnht r ... mnwt
h3 m ht nbt bnrt rnpt
3pd k3w m3ḥḏ iwʿ nbt wʿb(t) ...

ir swt hry-hb nb hmw-k3 nb
ir.t(y).sn [n.i] nn r-dr
ḏd.n.(i) hr is.(i) pn n(y) hrt-ntr
iw.(i) r wnn m h3y.sn m hrt-ntr
n rdi.(i) hpr ht nb(t) msḏdt.sn dt

Master of the secrets of all judgments Khentika,
 whose beautiful name is Ikhekhi, he says ...

All people who shall pass by this tomb (of mine) ...
 [may you make offerings for me consisting of]
 bread, beer, and water from what is in your possession,
 then you should speak with your mouth(s)

⁵⁵ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 273:12.

and offer with your arms
 1000 of incense and alabaster (vessels),
 1000 of clothing and *r(3)*-geese ... pigeons,
 1000 of everything sweet and fresh, and
 all pure fowl, beef, oryxes, and joints of meat ...

But as for every lector priest and all *k3*-priests
 who shall do [for me] all these things that
 I have said on behalf of this (my) tomb of the necropolis,
 I will be their protector in the necropolis,
 I will not allow anything that they hate to ever happen.

TEXT OK.24b:

Urk. I 205.11-16 and James p. 65 & pl. 39.
 On the sarcophagus lid in the tomb.

i hry-hb rmt w^cbt
wt rmt 80 hrt-ntr
h33w.t(y).sn r st tn

in-iw mry.tn hs tn n(y)-swt
im3h.tn nfr hr ntr ʕ3
nb krs m hrt-ntr

dd.tn n.(i) ʕ3 pn hr mwt.f m bw mnḥ
n ink Hnti-k3 n.(i) mrwt
iw.(i) r wnn m h3y.tn [m hrt-ntr]

O lector priests and men of the embalming chamber,
 embalmers and the eighty men of the necropolis,
 who shall go down to this place!

Do you want the king to praise you,
 to be well honoured before the great god,
 to be the possessor of a burial in the necropolis?

(If so), it is efficiently that you should place this lid
 upon its mother (the sarcophagus lid) for me,
 because I am Khentika, the possessor of love.
 Then I will be your protector [in the necropolis].

OK.25

NAME: KHUIWER,⁵⁶ Prophet of Re in the
Sun temple of Neferirkare
LOCATION: Giza, partly rock-cut tomb in Chephren cemetery
DATE: Old Kingdom, Dynasty 5 (V.8-9)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hassan 1944 pp. 237-56.
Kloth 2002 p. 12 (no. 21).
Lepsius 1972 II p. 43.
PM III² pp. 254-5.
Strudwick 2005 p. 293 (no. 219).

TEXT OK.25: Urk. I 46.10-12.
Placed on right and duplicated on left of the tomb entrance.

nfr n.tn imyw-ht.(i)
m3^c-hrw.tn tpyw-^cwy.(i)
ir [ir.ty.tn] r nw
wnn ir(w) mit(y)t r ist.tn
in imyw-ht.tn

May it be well with you, (my) descendants!
May you be true-of-voice, (my) ancestors!
If [you shall do] (it) to this (tomb),
may the like be done to your possessions
by your (own) descendants.

OK.26

NAME: SEFEGAT,⁵⁷ Royal acquaintance and priestess of Hathor
LOCATION: Saqqara
DATE: Old Kingdom, Dynasty 6

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Fischer 1976 fig. 12 (photo).
Nordh 1996 p. 59.
PM III² p. 749.

TEXT OK.26: Fischer 1976 fig. 12 (photo).
Four horizontal lines on architrave above stela niche,
introduced by a short vertical line on left.

rht-n(y)-swt Sfgt dd.s

⁵⁶ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 266:4. Transliterated by Kloth (2002 p. 12) as *Wr-hw(j)-w(j)*.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* v. I p. 306:27.

ink 3h ikr ʿpr
ir s(i) nb ʿk.t(y).f(y)
wʿb.n.f r irt prt-hrw
t(i) hnkt r is.(i) pn
iw.(i) r h3y.f m d3d3t ntr ʿ3
rdi.n.(i) nfr m sšm.f m ʿnh.f

ir swt ʿk.t(y).f(y) m ʿbw.f
iw.(i) r rdit sdb.f

The female royal acquaintance Sefegat, she says:

I am an excellent and (well)-equipped 3h-spirit.
 As for any man who shall enter after having
 purified (himself) in order to make invocation offerings
 of bread and beer at this tomb (of mine),
 I will be his supporter at the tribunal of the great god,
 having granted success in his affairs and in his life.

But as for he who shall enter in his impurity,
 I will cause his impediment.

OK.27

NAME:

QERERI,⁵⁸ Inspector of god's servants

LOCATION:

Akhmim tomb

DATE:

Old Kingdom, Dynasty 6 (VI.3)

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Garnot 1938 pp. 55-6.
 PM V p. 19.
 Vandier 1936a pp. 34-5.

TEXT OK.27:

Vandier 1936a p. 35.
 Vertical lines of text 2-4 to north of entrance.

ir s(i) sw3.t(y).f(y) hr w3t tn
dd.tn h3 m t(i) hnkt šs mnht n Krrī

As for anybody who shall pass by on this road,
 may you say 1000 bread, beer, alabaster (vessels)
 and clothing for Qereri.

⁵⁸ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 333:10.

OK.28

NAME: KAIHERSETEF,⁵⁹
 Overseer of the *k3*-servants of the Queen
 LOCATION: Giza, tomb with rock-cut chapel and built superstructure
 in Chephren cemetery (CG 1566)
 DATE: Old Kingdom, Dynasty 5-6 (V.9-VI.1)
 BIBLIOGRAPHY: Borchardt 1964 pp. 35-6.
 Garnot 1938 pp. 2-4.
 Hassan 1950 I³ pp. 73-79.
 PM III² p. 262.
 Strudwick 2005 p. 243 (no. 161).
 TEXT OK.28: Urk. I 10.6-7. Next to the opening of the serdab.

rmṯw nbw m33.t(y).sn nw
dw3.sn n.(i) nṯr m nw

Any people who shall see this (inscription),
 may they praise god for me, because of this.

OK.29

NAME: KAIHERPTAH,⁶⁰ Senior superintendent of documents
 LOCATION: Giza tomb G5560 in west cemetery
 DATE: Old Kingdom, Dynasty 6 (VI.1-3)
 BIBLIOGRAPHY: Garnot 1938 pp. 21-23.
 Junker 1929-1955 VIII pp. 108-122.
 Kloth 2002 p. 38 (no. 78).
 PM III² pp. 166-7.
 Strudwick 2005 p. 288 (no. 215).
 TEXT OK.29: Urk. I 186.14-17. In sarcophagus chamber of tomb.

mrr(w) n(y)-swt Inpw pw
hry-ḥb ir.t(y).f(y) n.(i)
ḥt 3ḥt Dḥwty ḥft
šs(w) pf št3 n(y) ḥm(w)t hry-ḥb

ink šs ikr n.(i) mrwt
nfr ḥr hrw st-ib
iwtj sdr.n rmṯw nbw špty r.f
s3b im(y)-r(3) šs K3.(i)-ḥr-Pth

⁵⁹ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 340:17.

⁶⁰ Ibid. v. I p. 340:21.

Beloved of the king and of Anubis will be
the lector priest who shall perform for me
the rites beneficial to Thoth in accordance with
the secret writings of the craft of the lector priest

I am an excellent scribe, a possessor of love,
beautiful of face and pleasant of disposition,
against whom nobody spent the night angry,
the senior superintendent of documents Kaikherptah.

OK.30

NAME: KAGEMNI,⁶¹ Chief justice and vizier
LOCATION: Saqqara, mastaba north of Teti pyramid
DATE: Old Kingdom, Dynasty 6 (VI.1M)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Callender 1998 p. 161.
Edel 1944 pp. 68-70.
Firth-Gunn 1926 v. I pp. 109-111.
Garnot 1938 pp. 77-78.
Kloth 2002 pp. 36-7 (no. 80).
PM III² p. 521f.
Strudwick 2005 p. 287 (no. 213).

TEXT OK.30: Urk. I 195.15-196.1. Largely restored.
Vertical lines 13-15 on east wall, north of entrance

[*ir s(i) nb ꜥk.ty.fy r is.i p*]⁶²
n wꜥb.n.f [mi wꜥb.f n 3h ikr
iw.(i) r itt.f mi 3pd
wdy snd.(i) im.f
r m33 3hw tpyw-t3]
snd.sn [n 3h ikr
wnn wdꜥ-mdw hnꜥ.f
*n d3d3t]*⁶³ *n(y)t ntr ꜥ3*

[As for any man who shall enter this tomb of mine]
not being purified [in the manner in which
he should be pure for an excellent 3h-spirit,
I will seize him (wring his neck) like a bird,
after fear of me has been placed in him,

⁶¹ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 341:2.

⁶² Restored by Sethe on the basis of texts from the tombs of Mereruka (Urk. I 87.13-14) and Ti (Urk. I 174.1-2)

⁶³ Restored by Sethe on the basis of the Appeal of Ankhmahor (Urk. I 202.6-7).

so that the 3_h-spirits (the deceased) and
those who are still on earth might see] and
so that they might fear [an excellent 3_h-spirit and
he will be held liable in the council] of the great god.

OK.31

NAME: TI, Controller of the palace, Chief of the wigmakers
of the great house, lector priest⁶⁴
LOCATION: Saqqara mastaba D22
DATE: Old Kingdom, Dynasty 5 (V.8-9)
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Edel 1944 p. 56f.
Garnot 1938 pp. 5-11.
PM III² pp. 468-478.
Steindorff 1913 pl. 8.
Strudwick 2005 p. 236 (no. 150).⁶⁵
Wild 1959 pp. 101-113.

TEXT OK.31: Urk. I 173.10-174.8 and Wild 1959 pp. 104-5.
At entrance to tomb on eastern inner face of door.

[*ir rmtw nbw ʿk.ty.sn r is.i pn ny*] *dt*
m ʿbw.sn wnm.n.sn bwwt
bwt 3_h nt(y) hp r hrt-ntr
[*n wʿb.sn r tr mi wʿb.sn r hwt-ntr nyt ntr*]
[*wnn*] *wḏʿ-mdw hnʿ.sn hr.s in ntr ʿ3*
m bw nty wḏʿ-mdw im m3ʿ

[*ink 3_h ikr hry sst3 nb n(y)*]
[*mdw-ntr n(y) hmwt hry-hb*]
iw ir(w) n.(i) ht nb 3_h špss
irt n ikr imy n 3_hw
[*m wnt hry-hb*]
[*iw igr bs.kw hry sst3 nb n(y) pr-md3t ntr*]

iw igr rh.k(wi) ht nb(t) 3_ht
3_h n.ii nt(y) hp ir hrt-ntr
[*iw rh.kw ht nbt ʿprt.f n.ii hr ntr ʿ3*]
iw rh.k(wi) ht nbt iʿt.f] n.ii n ntr ʿ3
iw rh.k(wi) ht nb(t) špsst.f n.ii hr ntr [ʿ3]

⁶⁴ Also known to have had the titles “Overseer of the Pyramids of Neuserre, and Overseer of the Sun temples of Sahure, Neferirkare and Neuserre.”

⁶⁵ Conflated with the Appeal of Mereruka (OK.12).

[ir swt s(i) nb ʕk.ty.fy r is.(i) pn
wʕb.f tr mi wʕb.f] ir hwt ntr ʕ3
iw.(i m) h3y.f m d3d3t tf špsst [nyt ntr ʕ3]

[ir s(i) nb ...]
[iw irt m ir m šht]
[ny rdi hpr] msdqt.f nb dt
ny rdi hpr ʕ3p.f nb hr ntr

[As for any people who shall enter into this my tomb] of eternity
with their impurities or after having eaten that which is impure,
(this is) an abomination of the 3h-spirit
that has traveled to the necropolis,
[because they are not pure to show respect]
[as they would be pure at the temple of the god].
They will be held liable for it by the great god
in the place in which judgment is truly (held) there.

[I am an excellent 3h-spirit, knowledgeable]
[in all the writings⁶⁶ of the craft of the lector priest].
Every effective noble rite was performed for me
that is performed for an excellent one who is among
the 3h-spirits [in ritual service as a lector priest].
[Indeed, I have been initiated as a]
[master of every secret of the house of the god's book].

For I know every effective rite through which⁶⁷
one becomes an 3h-spirit that travels to the necropolis.⁶⁸
[I know every rite through which it (the 3h-spirit)]
[is equipped by the great god].
[I know every rite through which it ascends] to the great god.
I know every rite through which it is ennobled by the
[great] god.

[But as for anyone who shall enter this (my) tomb of eternity,
after being purified as he would purify himself]
for the temple of the great god, I will
be his protector before the noble council [of the great god].⁶⁹

[As for anyone ...]
[who acts like a field-worker]⁷⁰

⁶⁶ Literally "he who is upon (i.e. master of) the secrets of the god's words."

⁶⁷ For *n.ii* see Edel 1955-1964 p. 382 (section 751a).

⁶⁸ For parallels see Doret 1986 p. 102 and Edel 1944 pp. 19-24.

⁶⁹ Restored by Sethe on the basis of Mereruka's (*Urk.* I 87.14) and Ankhmahor's (*Urk.* I 202.5) text.

⁷⁰ i.e. diligently. Restored from the tomb of Mereruka, cf. Wild 1959 pp. 110-112.

[without allowing that] anything he hates ever [occur],
without allowing that he be blamed at all by god ...

OK.32a-b

NAME:

Two Appeals

TJETU,⁷¹ whose beautiful name is *k3-ny-swt*

Overseer of the Pyramid town of Cheops

LOCATION:

Giza mastaba 2100

DATE:

Old Kingdom, Dynasty 6 (VI.4-6)

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Goedicke 1956 pp. 28-29.

Morschauser 1987 pp. 237-9.

PM III² pp. 66-67.

Simpson 1980 p. 8.

Strudwick 2005 p. 234 (no. 149).

TEXT OK.32a:

Simpson 1980 pl. 12. Edge of roofing blocks.
(architrave above entrance to tomb).

mrrw Inpw mrrw Wsir pw
mrrw n(y)-swt ntr.sn
ddw t(i) hnkt n nb n(y) is pn
m wnnt m ʕ.tn
ir nfr-n wnn m ʕ.tn
dd m r(3).tn wdn m ʕwy.tn

Those who shall say “bread and beer for the
owner of this tomb from what is in your hands”
are those whom Anubis loves, whom Osiris loves
and whom (both) the king and their (local) god love.
If there is nothing in your hands,
speak with your mouth and offer with your hands.

TEXT OK.32b:

Simpson 1980 pl. 17. Jamb on south side of chapel
with an address to visitors.

ir s(i) nb it.ty.fy sšn.ty.fy
inr dbt m is.(i) pn
iw.(i) r wdʕw hnʕ.(f) m d3d3t ntr ʕ3
iriw n.f phw hr.s
m33 ʕnhw tpyw-t3
hry-tp n(y)-swt pr ʕ3 Ttw

For *ny sdm.f* as a negative form with circumstantial meaning see also Doret 1986 p. 37.

⁷¹ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 395:8.

As for anybody who shall seize or take out
a stone (or) a brick from this tomb (of mine),
I will be liable with him at the tribunal of the great god
and an end will be made of him on account of it,
so that those who (still) live on earth shall see (it).⁷²
The royal chamberlain of the palace Tjetu.

OK.33

NAME: DENWEN,⁷³ Female king's acquaintance
LOCATION: unknown, false door
DATE: Old Kingdom, Dynasty 5 (?)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Lepsius 1972 (text) I p. 19.
Nordh 1996 p. 81.
Strudwick 2005 p. 390 (no. 288).

TEXT OK.33: Urk. I 73.4-5.

ir s(i) nb ir.t(y).f(y) ht ir nw
wnn.(i) wd^c-mdw hn^c.f in ntr ʿ3

As for anyone who shall act against this (stela),
he will be held liable by the great god.

OK.34

NAME: DJAOU, Vizier
LOCATION: Abydos stela CG 1431
DATE: Old Kingdom, Dynasty 6 (VI.4)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Borchardt 1937 pp. 111-2 & pl. 24.
Breasted 1906 I p. 159 (no. 349).
Fischer 1977 p. 141f.
Garnot 1938 pp. 66-67.
Roccati 1982 pp. 229-31.
Sottas 1913 p. 66.
Strudwick 2005 p. 358 (no. 257).

TEXT OK.34: Urk. I 119.3-13.
Vertical lines 4-5 in retrograde inscription.

⁷² Simpson (1980 p. 8) renders "so that (?) I shall see life upon earth."

⁷³ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 407:1.

i ʿnhw tpyw-t3
(i)m(y)-r(3) hmw-ntr nb hm-ntr nb
d3 šsmt nb n(y) hwt-ntr n(y)t hm
n(y) nb.(i) hnty-imntyw

ʿnh n.tn n(y)-swt
iw.tn šdt n.(i) prt-hrw t(i) hnkt⁷⁴
m⁷⁵db3w n(y) hwt-ntr tn
m irt.n n.(t)n wd.(i)
m irt.tn n.(i) ds.tn

dr m33.tn i3wt.(i) hr n(y)-swt
n špss.(i) hr hm n(y) nb.(i)
r s^ch.[f nb]
[r sr.f nb]
[r b3k.f nb]⁷⁶

O those who (still) live on earth,
 every overseer of god's servants, every god's servant,
 every *d3* priest of the *šsmt* girdle⁷⁷ of the temple of the
 Majesty of my lord,⁷⁸ foremost-of-the-westerners.

As the king lives for you,⁷⁹ so shall you
 recite the invocation offering of bread and beer for me
 from the income of this temple,⁸⁰
 because of what my decree has done for you,⁸¹
 consisting of what you yourselves have done for me.⁸²

Because you see my offices from the king,⁸³
 for I am more honoured⁸⁴ by the Majesty of my lord

⁷⁴ Alternatively *ti* and *hnkt* may be considered as determinatives for *prt-hrw*.

⁷⁵ These three phrases all begin with an *m* sign (Gardiner G17) indicating a parallelism in structure. It is possible to translate all three as *m* prepositions of predication, but here the first is translated as an *m* of separation, the second as an *m* of reason and the third as an *m* of predication.

⁷⁶ Reconstructed by Sethe according to the passage in Weni's autobiography (*Urk.* I 99.7-8).

⁷⁷ Garnot (1938 p. 67) discusses the term *d3 šsmt*, which appears in *Wb.* IV 538, but without a translation, perhaps "superintendent of the temple." See also Fischer 1977 p. 143 (n), Jones 2000 pp. 994 and 1009, and Hannig 2003 pp. 1370 and 1491.

⁷⁸ The lord referred to here is almost certainly Osiris, given the epithet foremost-of-the-westerners.

⁷⁹ This phrase is an oath. Wilson (1948 p. 134) classifies this as an oath used in regard to desire, a provocation, or some other expression of strong emotion.

⁸⁰ This income is likely a reversion of offerings from the temple of Osiris at Abydos.

⁸¹ Presumably Djaou has set up an endowment from his own estate to pay the lector priests.

⁸² Being addressed to the visitors to the tomb, this phrase would refer to the offerings these visitors had provided of their own accord without prearranged obligation.

⁸³ These offices are listed in the earlier part of the inscription (*Urk.* I 118). Djaou served as vizier in the early years of Pepy II (Baer 1960 p. 157).

⁸⁴ Literally more august or noble.

than (any other) of his officials,
[than any other of his nobles or
than any other of his servants].

OK.35

NAME: DJAOU
LOCATION: Deir el-Gebrawi tomb no. 12
DATE: Old Kingdom, Dynasty 6 (VI.4L)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Breasted 1906 I p. 173 (no. 384).
Davies 1902 II p. 13.
Garnot 1938 pp. 69-70.
Kloth 2002 p. 39-40 (no. 86).
PM IV pp. 244-6.
Roccati 1982 pp. 227-8.
Sottas 1913 p. 66.
Strudwick 2005 pp. 365-6 (no. 267).

TEXT OK. 35: Urk. I 147.9-12. and Davies 1902 II pl. 13.
Vertical lines 4-5 on east wall of niche in tomb chapel.

i ʿnhw tpyw-t3
b3kw mity.(i)
mrrw n(y)-swt pw
hssw ntr.sn niwty
dd.t(y).sn h3 t(i) hnkt
k3w 3pdw ss mnht
n D ʿw s3 n(y) D ʿw

O those who (still) live on earth,
servants like myself,
those whom the king loves and
whom their local god praises
are those who shall say 1000 bread, beer,
beef, fowl, alabaster (vessels), and clothing
for Djaou, the son of Djaou.⁸⁵

⁸⁵ Equational sentence with relative forms (*mrrw* and *hssw*) on one side and a *sdm.ty.fy* form on the other side. The motivation and the request are syntactically linked because they are in the same sentence.

3.0 FIRST INTERMEDIATE PERIOD APPEALS

The Appeal text tradition continues without interruption from the Old Kingdom into the First Intermediate Period, abbreviated here as FIP. The FIP is defined here as ranging from the end of the reign of Pepy II of the Sixth Dynasty through to the end of the Eleventh Dynasty. The FIP is a period characterized by political fragmentation, disunity, and the rise of local power in the provinces. It was a period of civil strife and although Nebhepetre Montuhotep II reunited the country under a single administration in the middle of Dynasty 11, the exact date of the reunification is uncertain¹ and there is evidence for continued civil war at the end of Dynasty 11.² Dating of individual texts is often problematical; there is a dearth of royal names on monuments (Franke 2001 p. 526), and a lack of consensus among scholars on the chronology of Egyptian monuments from the end of the Sixth until the Twelfth Dynasty.³ This period of decentralization witnessed the continued presence of the traditional royal authority in Memphis from the 6th through the 8th Dynasties, before the development of the Herakleopolitan 9th, 10th, and the Theban 11th Dynasties. Dating is often influenced by historical interpretations of the Herakleopolitan dynasties and the territorial extent of their control.

¹ Sometime between his 14th and 39th regnal year, cf. Spanel 1990 p. 21.

² Fighting is mentioned at the time of Nehri at Hatnub, cf. Hatnub Graffito 16 (Anthes 1964 pp. 36-7). The Turin Canon summary for the Middle Kingdom has been interpreted as including seven "empty" years (Winlock 1940 p. 118 n.2). Following the arguments in Arnold 1991, the slain soldiers in Winlock 1945 probably date after the reign of Nebhepetre Montuhotep to the end of the 11th Dynasty, or even to the beginning of Dynasty 12 (cf. Allen 1996 p. 21 n.89) according to the evidence of private names that may be modeled on those of Ammenemes I and Sesostri I. See also Gestermann 1987 p. 176 and Willems 1983/84 pp. 95-101.

³ Brovarski (1999 p. 42 and 1985 p. 583) argues for a FIP of over 200 years, whereas other scholars argue for a shorter time, e.g. 150 years (Grimal 1994 p. 137) or even ca. 100 years (Seidelmayer 2000 pp. 118-120). Of course, the FIP is usually ended with the reunification of Egypt under Nebhepetre Montuhotep and is often considered not to have begun until the end of the Sixth Dynasty.

The Appeals in Middle Egypt in the Herakleopolitan kingdom tend to be longer and more elaborate than most of the other FIP Appeals, which are short, direct, and appear on funerary stelae; most commonly these stelae are from Upper Egypt, especially in the Thinite nome from the sites of Naga ed-Deir and Abydos. The Herakleopolitan Appeals from Asyut, however, are preserved on tomb walls, which allow more space for elaboration than a stela. The FIP Appeal texts are attested throughout Egypt, with an example from the Delta (FIP.26) in the north and another example from Nubia in the south (FIP.36). In the FIP, Appeal texts also appear outside the Nile Valley and in a non-funerary context for the first time at the quarry site of Hatnub. The FIP Appeal texts very much reflect their times; they are characterized by an emphasis on local cults and an avoidance of reliance on the king, with something of the political conflict between the Herakleopolitan Dynasty in Middle Egypt and the growing power of Thebes even being reflected in some of the Appeals.

The First Intermediate Period Appeal texts used in this study follow:

FIP.1

NAME: ANONYMOUS nome-ruler

LOCATION: Abydos, false-door stela

DATE: FIP, Dynasty 10/11⁴

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Brovarski 1989 pp. 467-479.
Petrie *et al.* 1902 v.1: pl. 54 (B).

TEXT FIP.1: Brovarski 1989 p. 468 p. 468 (fig. 49 fragment B)
Three vertical lines (mostly restored on the basis of
the Naga ed-Deir stela of Henni)

⁴ Helck (1958 p. 201) followed Petrie in placing the fragments in the Old Kingdom, but Fischer (1954 p. 32 n.53) has dated the false-door no earlier than Dynasty 11, and Brovarski (1989 p. 470) has argued for a Herakleopolitan date.

[i ḥw tpw-t3]
 [mrrw ḥw msdd]w hp(y)t
 sw3.t(y).[sn hr w3t tn]
 [m hd m hnt]

[iw.tn r rdit n(y) t(i) hnt]
 [m nt(y)t hr.tn]
 [ir nfr-n w]nn m-ḥ.tn
 iw.[tn r dd h3 t(i) hnt]
 [h3 k3w 3pdw]
 [h3 ht nbt nfrt n] ...
 ms(w).n n hkrw-nsw Id

[O those who still live on earth],
 [who love life and hat]e death and
 who shall pass [by this way either]
 [faring upstream or downstream]!

[You shall give of the bread and beer]
 [that is in your possession and]
 [if there is nothing] in your possession,
 [you shall say 1000 bread and beer],
 [1000 beef and fowl, and]
 [1000 of everything good for] ...
 born of the lady-in-waiting Id.

FIP.2

NAME: IY,⁵ Lector priest
 LOCATION: Naga ed-Deir, stela Dundee 66.223
 DATE: FIP, Dynasty 9/10⁶

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Brovarski 1989 pp. 639-40.
 Fischer 1968 p. 71 n. 290.

TEXT FIP.2: Brovarski 1989 fig. 137. Bottom two horizontal lines
 continuing to vertical line along lower right edge of stela.

i ḥw tp(y)w-t3
 mrrw ḥw msddw hp(y)t
 sw3.t(y).tn hr is.(i) pn

⁵ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 7:17.

⁶ This stela falls in Brovarski's (1989 p. 601) polychrome group.

*iw.tn r dd h3 m t(i) hnkt
 h3 k3w h3 3pdw h3 mnht
 h3 ht nb(t) nfr(t)
 n h3ty-^c im3h Iy*

O those who (still) live on earth,
 who love life and who hate death,
 you who will pass by this tomb (of mine)!
 You will say “1000 bread and beer,
 1000 beef, 1000 fowl, 1000 clothes,
 and 1000 of everything good
 for the h3ty-^c,⁷ the revered Iy.

FIP.3

NAME: INYOTEF,⁸ son of Inyotef, (grand)son of Khuu
 LOCATION: Stela CG 20003, bought in Luxor⁹
 DATE: late Dynasty 11/early Dynasty 12¹⁰

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Lange and Schäfer 1902 (CGC v.5) p. 3. pls. 118-9.
 Gardiner 1935 p. 36.
 Frankfort 1947 p. 95.
 Robins 1994 pp. 70-71.
 Spanel 1985 pp. 65-68.
 Spanel 1996 p. 773.

TEXT FIP.3: Brunner 1965 pl. 8 (photo)
 Clère and Vandier 1948 no. 2 (hand copy)
 Five horizontal lines of inscription at top of stela.

⁷ Since there is no generally agreed upon translation for h3ty-^c, I have left the title untranslated (cf. Strudwick 2005 p. 27). It is undoubtedly an indication of high rank, such as Count, and probably indicates the ruler of a nome during the FIP and early MK. In the NK h3ty-^c seems to be a city ruler or mayor.

⁸ Ranke 1935 v. 1 p. 34:1.

⁹ Lange and Schäfer (1902 I p. 15) say “découverte à Gournah en 1887.”

¹⁰ This stela has been variously dated to the First Intermediate Period and the Middle Kingdom (Robins 1994 p. 70 n.25), but the serious discussion has centered on a choice between late Dynasty 11 and early Dynasty 12. Freed (1984 pp. 82-90) dates the stela to some point in the Middle Kingdom just after the reunification. Spanel (1996 p. 773 n.25) notes that the artistic style of both the sunk relief and of the decoration closely follows that of late Dynasty 11 monuments, but suggests that the stela dates to the 12th Dynasty on the basis of the presence of a book roll with two ties, the fact that linen and alabaster are among the commodities asked for, and because of the grid pattern. This grid pattern is transitional between Dynasty 11 and Dynasty 12 (Spanel 1996 p. 773 n. 25 and Robins 1994 p. 73). If the early Dynasty 12 date is accepted, the stela should be seen as an example of archaism, a “continuation of Eleventh Dynasty tradition by a Theban artist who did not abandon the style with which he was familiar” (Spanel 1996 p. 273 n. 25). Freed (1996 p. 302) notes that “it is often impossible to distinguish between late Dynasty 11 and early Dynasty 12 material at Thebes,” indirectly supporting the idea (Arnold 1991 p. 14f.) that Ammenemes I ruled from Thebes for longer than previously realized.

*i ʕnhw ntyw wnni
mrry ʕnh msdd hp(y)t
sw3.t(y).sn hr is.(i) pn*

*mr.tn ʕnh msd.tn hp(y)t
iw.tn r drp n.i m nt(y)t m ʕ.tn
ir nfr-n wnn m ʕ(wy).tn
iw.tn r dd m r(3).tn
h3 m t(i) hnk t k3w 3pdw sš mnht
h3 m ht nbt wʕb(t)
n im3h hww s3 'In-it.f s3 'In-it.f*

O those who (still) are alive and (still) exist,
who love life and who hate death, and
those who shall pass by this tomb (of mine)!

As you love life and hate death,
so shall you offer to me from that which is in your hands.
If nothing is in your hands,
you shall say with your mouth:
“1000 bread, beer, beef, fowl, alabaster and linen,
1000 of everything pure”
for the revered Inyotef, son of Inyotef, son of Khuu.

FIP.4

NAME:

ITI,¹¹ Expedition leader and god's sealer

LOCATION:

Gebelein (from Schiaparelli's excavations in 1911)
Turin Egyptian Museum Inv. Suppl. 12114.

DATE:

FIP, Dynasty 11

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Rosati 1989 pp. 107-8.
Schenkel 1965 pp. 279-80.
Vandier 1943 fig. 10.

TEXT FIP.4:

Rosati 1989 fig. 125.
Two vertical lines on right side of stela.

*i ʕnhw tp t3
mrrw ʕnh msdd hp(y)t
s(w3).t(y).sn hr ʕb3 pn*

¹¹ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 50:2.

dd h3 t(i) hnkt ht nb(t) nfr(t)
n imy-r(3) mšc htmty ntr
Iti ikr m3c-hrw

[ir rmt nb] irty.f(y) (r) wb3 ipn
iw.(i) r [wdc] hnc.f
in ntr c3 nb pt
[iw.i r] sbi [m hrt-ntr]¹²

O those who are (still) alive on earth,
 those who love life and hate death,
 those who shall [pass] by this offering stone!

Say 1000 bread and beer (and)
 everything good for the expedition leader (and)
 god's sealer Iti, excellent and justified.

[Whosoever] shall act [against] this stela,
 he will be held liable (concerning it)
 by the great god, the lord of heaven.
 [I will] protect (you) [in the necropolis].

FIP.5

NAME: ITI, Royal chamberlain
 LOCATION: Saqqara, Teti Pyramid cemetery
 DATE: FIP, end of Dynasty 6 or later¹³

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Daoud 2005 pp. 146-7 & pl. LXXXI.
 Firth & Gunn 1912-12 p. 212 & II pl. 77.
 Fischer 1963 pp. 35-41.
 PM III² p. 567.

TEXT FIP.5: Firth & Gunn 1912-13 pl. 77 and Urk. I 197.11-18.
 11 vertical lines in front of depiction of deceased
 on false-door stela.

¹² There is some confusion in terms of the form and order of the hieroglyphic signs here. There is a definite *ntr* sign (Gardiner R8). I see the road sign (Gardiner N31), where Schenkel suggests the sky sign (Gardiner N1). So Schenkel has "the great god, lord of heaven." I see the horn sign (Gardiner F13), where Schenkel suggests the sledge or *tm* sign (Gardiner U15). A possible reading is [As for any man] who shall act against this stela. I will be judged with him by Wepwawet. [I will] pass time [in the necropolis].

¹³ Included by Daoud (2005 p. 146), who gives the owner's name as *Hry-tp-r-Iti*, among his corpus of Memphite inscriptions of the Herakleopolitan Period.

[i] *ʿnhw tpyw-t3*
sw3.t(y).sn hr is.(i) pn
hs tn [ntr.tn niwty]...

[mrr *Wsir p*]w m
hry-hb nb s(i) nb
rdi.t(y).sn n.(i) t(i) hnkt
(m) nt(y)t m-ʿ.tn

ir nfr-n.tn wnn m-ʿ.tn
dd h3 t(i) h3 hnkt h3 k3w
h3 3pdw h3 šs h3 mnht
n mt(y) n(y) s3-nsw Iti

[ir] *hry-hb ikr 3h ʿpr*
šd.t(y).f(y) (n) s(i) nb
pri-hrw.f t(i) hnkt n.(i)
[iw.f] r h3w.f m d3d3t ntr ʿ3
hry-tp nsw Iti

[O] those who (still) live on earth,
 who shall pass by this tomb (of mine),
 may [your local god] favour you...

[The one whom Osiris loves] is
 any lector priest, any man
 who shall give to me bread and beer
 [from] that which is in your hand.

If you have nothing in your hands,¹⁴
 say 1000 bread, 1000 beer, 1000 beef,
 1000 fowl, 1000 alabaster, and 1000 linen
 for the controller of a royal phyle Iti.

[As for (any)] skilled lector priest,
 (any properly) equipped 3h-spirit,
 who shall read aloud for any man
 his invocation offering of bread and beer for me,
 I will be his protector in the court of the great god,
 (namely) the royal chamberlain Iti.

¹⁴ Note parallel in the Appeal of Tjetu from Giza (CG2100).

FIP.6

NAME: ITI,¹⁵ *h3ty-^c*
 LOCATION: Naga ed-Deir, stela in National Gallery of Victoria
 (Melbourne 39)
 DATE: FIP, Dynasty 9/10¹⁶
 BIBLIOGRAPHY: Brovarski 1989 pp. 640-642.
 Fischer 1981 pp. 61-64.
 TEXT FIP.6: Fischer 1981 fig. 4. Horizontal lines 2-5 across top
 of stela continuing to vertical lines in front of figures.

dd.[f]

ink nds ikr

ir(w) m hpš.f

rdi hr ht it.f

ink dd nfr whm nfr

rdi ht n tp-nfrt

ink ls-ib l3m-h3ty m sin n snw.f

iw rdi.n.(i) t(i) hnkt n hkr

hbs n h3(wy) n(y) 3bwt.i

iw rdi.n.(i) ht n hm(w).n.(i)

mi rh(w).n.(i)

n-mrt w3h.(i) tp t3

nfr n.i m hrt-ntr

i nhw tp t3

mrrw nh msdd hp(y)t

sw3.t(y).sn hr b3 pn

tw.tn r dd

h3 t(i) hnkt k3w 3pdw

ht nb(t) nfr(t) n im3h Iti

[He] says:

I am an excellent commoner,
 who acts with his strong arm,
 who adds to the property of his father.

I am one who speaks well, who repeats well,
 who arranges matters successfully.

I am one light-of-heart,
 well-disposed in waiting¹⁷ for his fellows.

¹⁵ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 49:16.

¹⁶ Fischer (1981 p. 67) places this stela in Dynasty 10, but Brovarski (1989 p. 601) places it in the Dynasty 9 polychrome group.

I gave bread and beer to the hungry and
 clothing to the naked among my dependents.
 I gave property to the one whom I did not know,
 as well as to the one whom I did know,
 so that I might endure on earth, and
 so that it might be well for me in the necropolis.

O those who (still) live on earth,
 who love life and who hate death,
 those who shall pass by this stela,
 you shall say 1000 bread, beer, beef, fowl, and
 everything good for the revered Iti.

FIP.7a-d

NAME:

Four Appeals

LOCATION:

IT-IBI,¹⁸ *h3ty-^c* of Asyut

DATE:

Asyut tomb no. 3

FIP, Dynasties 9/10 (Herakleopolitan Period)

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Assmann 1992 p. 154.
 Breasted 1906 pp. 180-81.
 Brunner 1937 pp. 17 & 42.
 Edel 1984 pp. 20-66.
 Lichtheim 1992 pp. 160-61.
 PM IV pp. 263-4.
 Schenkel 1965 pp. 74-77 (nos. 58-60).
 Simpson 1958 pp. 302-3.
 Willems 1990 p. 37.

TEXT FIP.7a:

Brunner 1937 p. 42 (handcopy)
 Griffith 1889 pl. 11 (handcopy)
 Montet 1930-35 pp. 90-95 & pp. 174-77.
 Inscription on right sidewall, one horizontal line.

i ʿnhw i tpyw-t3
msw ntyw r mst
hd.t(y).sn hnt.t(y).sn

¹⁷ Literal translation. Fischer (1981 p. 61) perhaps gives better sense with “dealing with (?)”

¹⁸ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 50:14. His name in the literature is often written “Tefibi,” as in Breasted 1906 and Brunner 1937 (Asyut Tomb III). He is considered a contemporary of Merikare’s father and led the Herakleopolitan forces that were victorious over the forces of Upper Egypt (Brunner 1937 pp. 16-37 and Brovarski 1989 p. 50).

iw.t(y).sn m šmsw n(y) Wp-w3wt nb S3wt
ir.t(y).sn sw3w hr w^crt tn
ḥk.t(y).sn r is.(i) pn
m33.t(y).sn nt(y)t im.f

ḥnh n.tn Wp-w3wt nb S3wt
Inpw nb R3-ḥrrt
iw.tn r dw3-ntr r prt-ḥrw
t(i) hnt n ḥ3ty-ḥ It-ibi

O living ones, o those who are (still) on earth,
 those born and those who shall be born,
 those who shall travel upstream or downstream,
 those who shall come as followers of Wepwawet,
 the lord of Asyut,
 those who shall make a journey upon this desert plateau,
 those who shall enter this tomb (of mine and)
 those who shall see what is in it!

As Wepwawet, lord of Asyut, and
 Anubis, lord of R3-ḥrrt,¹⁹ live for you,
 you shall give thanks and shall (say) an invocation offering
 of bread and beer for the ḥ3ty-ḥ It-ibi.

TEXT FIP.7b:

Edel 1984 p. 23 (fig. 2), Siut III lines 57-60.
 South jamb of tomb entrance.

iry-p^ct ḥ3ty-ḥ htmty-bity smr w^cty
imy-r(3) ḥmw-ntr (ny) W[p-w3wt]
nb s3wt It-ibi dd

ir sšw nb rh-[ht nb]
ḥk.t(y).sn is.(i) pn
dd.t(y).[sn prt-ḥr]w
n k3 (ny) ḥ3ty-ḥ It-ibi
iw.i r sbt hr.[sn m hrt-ntr]
r^c nb (w)nn.t(y).f(y)

The hereditary noble, ḥ3ty-ḥ, royal seal-bearer,²⁰
 Select friend, overseer of the god's servants of
 W[epwawet], lord of Asyut, It-ibi says:

¹⁹ Name for the necropolis of Asyut, especially the rocky promontory in which the Dynasty 10 nome-rulers of the Lycopolite (U.E. 13th) nome had their tombs (cf. PM IV pp. 263-4, Montet 1957 v.2 p. 136 and Zibelius 1978 p. 144).

²⁰ Following Quirke 1986 p. 123.

As for all scribes and [all] learned [men]
 who shall enter this tomb (of mine) and
 who shall speak [invocation offerings]
 for the *k3* of the *h3ty-^c* It-ibi --
 I will watch over [them in the necropolis]
 every day that shall exist.

TEXT FIP.7c:

Edel 1984 pp. 25-37 (fig. 5), Siut III lines 62-64.
 North jamb of tomb entrance.

iry-p^ct h3ty-^c
imy-r(3) hmw-ntr n(y) Inpw
nbw R3-krrt

ir hryw-tp nb s3 s(i) nb
s^ch (nb) nds nb
tm.t(y).f(y) mk (i)s. (i) p(n)
hn^c nt(y)t i(m).f
nn šsp ntr t(i)-hd.f
n(n) krs.t(w).f m imnt(y)t
(h^c)w.(s)n r tk(3 h)n^c hbntyw
irw m tmw (w)nnw

The hereditary noble, *h3ty-^c*,
 overseer of the god's servants of Anubis,
 lord of *R3-krrt* It-ibi says:

As for any chief, any son of a man,
 any nobleman or any commoner,
 who shall fail to protect this tomb (of mine)
 together with what is in it –
 his god shall not accept his white bread,
 he shall not be buried in the West
 and their flesh shall burn
 together with that of the criminals,
 they having been turned into ones who do not exist.

TEXT FIP 7d:

Edel 1984 pp. 37-66 (fig. 7), Siut III lines 65-71.
 Tomb entrance with three horizontal lines across top
 (lines 65-67) and two vertical lines of inscription on either
 side (lines 68-69 on right and lines 70-71 on left).

iry-p^ct h3ty-^c It-ibi dd

ir sbi nb sbi.t(y).f(y)
k3w.t(y).f(y) m (ib).f
irt šd-hrw (r) is.(i) pn
hn^c nt(y)t im.f
hđ.t(y).fy [sšw]
nss.t(y).f(y) n hntyw m isw
[nyw tpyw]-^c m sm n(y)t [s3]wty
(m) r(3)-pr [ny nbw] R(3)-kr̥rt
n snd.f n wđ^cwt nt(y)t im.f
n 3h n.(f) m hrt-ntr st n(y)t 3hw

n wnn hrt.f m hrt-ntr
nš.t(w) hrdw.f m isw.s(n)
iw.f (r) hftyw n(y) 3hw
(iw.f r) hm n(y) nb (sm)t

[nn dm.tw rn.f] m-m 3hw
nn sh3.f hr tpyw-t3
nn rn.f hr [msw].f
nn (s)ti.(ty) n.f mw
n(n) prt-hrw t(i) hnkt k3w 3pdw n.f
m w3g hb nb [nfr ny smt]

di.[fr st wđ^cwt]
[bwy sw ntr.f niwty]
[bwy sw] tknw.f
hwt.f n sns[nwt]
pr.f n wnmwt
[pr]rt nbt [m r3.f]
[pn^c] st ntrw [nyw smt]

The hereditary noble, *h3ty-^c* It-ibi says:

As for any rebel who shall rebel and
 who shall plan in his (thoughts) to
 commit blasphemy against this tomb (of mine)
 together with what is in it,
 who shall destroy the [inscriptions] and
 who shall damage the statues in the tombs
 of the ancestors in the necropolis of Asyut and
 (in) the temple (of the lord of) *R3-kr̥rt*
 without being afraid of the tribunal which is therein,
 he shall not be glorified in the necropolis,
 the seat of the glorified (*3h*) spirits.

His property will not exist in the necropolis.²¹
 His children will be expelled from their tombs.
 He shall be an enemy of the *3h*-spirits.²²
 (He will) not know the lord of the necropolis.

[His name shall not be called] among the spirits.
 Memory of him shall not be among those (still) on earth.
 His name shall not be upon his [children].
 Water shall not be poured for him.
 There will be no invocation offerings of bread, beer,
 beef, and fowl for him on the *Wag*-festival (or on)
 any [beautiful] festival [of the necropolis].

May [he] be delivered [to the tribunal].
 [May his local god abominate him].
 May his relatives [abominate him].
 May his estate belong to fire,
 his house to the devouring flame.²³
 Everything which comes forth [from his mouth],
 may the gods of the necropolis [pervert] it.

FIP.8

NAME: IDW,²⁴ Count and royal seal-bearer
 LOCATION: Naga ed-Deir, stela BM 250 [1059]²⁵
 DATE: FIP, Dynasty 9/10²⁶

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Brovarski 1989 pp. 632-635.
 Fischer 1981 pp. 64-66.
 Schenkel 1962 pp. 98 & 101 (Group G).
 Schenkel 1965 pp. 183-4 (no. 262).

TEXT FIP.8: British Museum 1912a pl. 32 and Fischer 1981 fig. 5.
 In vertical lines at lower right of stela.

²¹ The word for necropolis here is literally "god's property," so there is a bit of word play between "his property" which refers to a burial or tomb and the "god's property" or necropolis (Edel 1984 p. 51).

²² Left untranslated by Brunner (1937 p. 19) and Schenkel (1965 p. 74), but see Nordh (1996 p. 93) and Edel (1984 pp. 52-3).

²³ Or "consuming flame" (cf. Nordh 1996 p. 87). Brunner (1937 p. 19) and Schenkel (1965 p. 75) do not translate this passage, which has been restored by Edel (1984 pp. 58-9) on the basis of PT spell 292.

²⁴ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 54:10.

²⁵ Schenkel (1963 p. 184) places this stela "from the neighbourhood of Akhmim."

²⁶ Fischer (1981 p. 67) places the stela in Dynasty 10, but Brovarski (1989 p. 601) places it in his Dynasty 9 polychrome group.

i ʕnhw tp(yw)-t3
mrr ʕnh msdd hp(y)t

iw.tn r dd
h3 m t(i) hnkt
h3 m k3w 3pdw
h3 m ht nb(t) nfr(t)
n im3h Idw

O those who (still) live on earth,
 who love life and who hate death!

You will say:
 “1000 bread and beer,
 1000 beef and fowl,
 1000 of everything good
 for the blessed Idw.”

FIP.9

NAME:

AB-IHW,²⁷ Overlord of the Thinite and Dendrite nomes

LOCATION:

Dendera, false-door stela JE 38551

DATE:

FIP, Dynasty 9

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Fischer 1968 pp. 203-5.
 Kanawati 1980 pp. 116f.

TEXT FIP.9:

Fischer 1968 fig. 40. Left jamb of false-door.

i ʕnhw [i tpyw-t3]
[mrrw] ʕnh msddw hp(y)t
[mrrw hs sn ntr.sn] niwty

dd.tn h3 mw h3 t(i) h3 hnkt
h3 [k3w h3 3pdw h3] m3-hd
h3 ht nb(t) nfr(t) n iry-p^ct
h3ty-^c imy-r(3) sm^cw ... ʕb-ihw

O those (still) alive, [those (still) on earth],
 [who love] life and who hate death, and
 [who want their] local [god to favour them]!

²⁷ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 59:22.

May you say 1000 water, 1000 bread, 1000 beer,
1000 [beef, 1000 fowl, 1000] ibex, and
1000 of everything good for the hereditary noble,
h3ty-^c, overseer of Upper Egypt ... Ab-ihw.

FIP.10

NAME: ANKHIMY (?), *h3ty-^c*
LOCATION: Naga ed-Deir, stela N4102
DATE: FIP, late Dynasty 10/Dynasty 11

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Brovanski 1989 pp. 921-3.

TEXT FIP.10: Brovanski 1989 p. 922 (fig. 86)
Two vertical columns on right side of stela.²⁸

i nḥw tp(yw)-t3
mrrw nḥ msḏdw ḥp(y)t
sw3.ty.sn [ḥr b3 pn?]
ḏd.tn ...

O those who (still) live on earth,
those who love life and hate death,
whoever shall pass by [this stela].
may you say ...

FIP.11

NAME: AHANAKHTE,²⁹ Overseer of craftsmen
LOCATION: Hatnub graffito no. 19
DATE: FIP, Dynasty 11(?)
year 5 of Nehri (ruler of Hare nome)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Anthes 1928 pp. 41-42.
Nordh 1996 p. 65.

TEXT FIP.11: Anthes 1928 pp. 41-42 and pl. 20.

ir ḥḏ.t(y).f(y) nn ḥntyw
in ntrw nyw Wnt ḥsf.sn (n.f)

As for one who shall harm these figures,
it is the gods of the Hare nome who will punish (him).³⁰

²⁸ Except for traces and *ḏd.tn*, the conclusion on the second column is lost.

²⁹ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 44:11 (as *ih3-nḥt*).

FIP.12

NAME: AHANAKHTE, Scribe of the tribunal
 LOCATION: Hatnub graffito no. 25³¹
 DATE: FIP, Dynasty 11 (?)
 year 7 of Nehri (ruler of the Hare nome)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Anthes 1928 pp. 56-59.
 Griffith and Newberry 1894 II pp. 51-52 (Graffito VIII)

TEXT FIP.12: Anthes 1928 pp. 56-59 & pl. 26.
 Vertical lines 17-18.³²

ir grt skd nb
ḫl.t(y).ḫ(y) ḥf n twt pn
iw.f r ph pr.f snb(w)
ir.n.f twt.n.f r.s

Now as for any traveller
 who shall lift up his arm to this image,
 he will reach his house safely
 after his having attained that for which he came.

FIP.13

NAME: WEHA,³³ Lector priest
 LOCATION: Naga ed-Deir, stela from Girga district
 Chicago Oriental Institute stela 16956
 DATE: FIP, Dynasty 9/10³⁴

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Brovarski 1989 pp. 625-629.
 Dunham 1937 pp. 102-4 (no. 84).
 Schenkel 1962 p. 101 (Group C).
 Schenkel 1965 pp. 184-5 (no. 263).
 Wilson 1954 p. 326.

TEXT FIP.13: Dunham 1937 pl. XXXII.
 Two vertical columns in lower right of stela.

³⁰ The construction *in* + noun + *sdm.f* has future sense, as explained in Gardiner (1957 p. 175) section 227.2. The *sdm.f* would be a prospective form and this construction places the emphasis on the subject (Allen 1999 p. 385) section 25.18.

³¹ Doxey (1998 p. 241) lists the author of this graffito as Kay son of Nehri and dates it to the reign of Montuhotep IV of Dynasty 11.

³² Followed by a colophon naming Nakht's son Ahanakhte as the maker of the figures (*ḫntyw*)

³³ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 83:26.

³⁴ This stela falls in the polychrome group (Stettgast 1963 p. 14; Brovarski 1989 p. 601), which Brovarski (1980 col. 309) places in the second half of Dynasty 9. This stela is in Dunham's (1937 p. 124) "early middle" group.

*i ʕnhw tp(y)w-t3
 iw.tn r dd h3 m t(i) hnkt
 h3 k3w 3pdw
 h3 m ht nb(t) nfr(t)
 n im3h h3ty-ʕ Wh3*

O those who (still) live on earth!
 You shall say 1000 bread and beer,
 1000 beef and fowl,
 and 1000 of everything good
 for the revered h3ty-ʕ Weha.

FIP.14

NAME:

PAI(?),³⁵ Select companion

LOCATION:

Naga ed-Deir, stela N.3907

Berkeley LMA 6-1073/19867

DATE:

FIP, late Dynasty 10/Dynasty 11³⁶

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Brovarski 1989 pp. 853-855.

Dunham 1937 pp. 58-59 (nos. 38 & 46).

Lutz 1927 nos. 21 & 43.

Schenkel 1962 p. 99 (Group b-c).

Schenkel 1965 p. 171 (no. 231).

TEXT FIP.14:

Dunham 1937 p. 58 & pl. 15.2 and Lutz 1927 pls. 12 & 18.
 Crude hieroglyphs in three vertical columns followed by
 several short lines squeezed into limited space.

*i ʕnhw tp(y)-t3
 mrrw ʕnhw msddw hp(y)t*

*m mrr.tn hs tn In-hr(y)t nb Tni
 sw3.t(y).sn hr is pn dt
 dd.tn h3w m t(i) hnkt ht nb(t) nfr(t)*

*dd.tn m r(3).tn n
 im3hw hr ntr ʕ3 [smr] wʕty P3i*

O those who (still) live upon earth,
 who love life and who hate death!

³⁵ Schenkel (1965 p. 171) notes that the name of the stela owner may be *Tni-hrt*, which is preserved on a coffin fragment.

³⁶ This stela is in Dunham's (1937 p. 124) "early middle" group.

Inasmuch as you desire that Onuris, lord of This
should favour you --
those who shall pass by this tomb of eternity --
may you say thousands of bread, beer and everything good.

May you say (these things) with your mouth for the one
revered with the great god, the select [companion] Pai.

FIP.15

NAME: MENI³⁷ or Men-ankh-pepi, Royal seal-bearer
LOCATION: Dendera mastaba tomb
DATE: FIP, end of Dynasty 6 or later

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Griffith in Petrie 1900 p. 44.
Garnot 1938 pp. 60-61 (text no. XIV)
PM V p. 110.

TEXT FIP.15: Urk. I 268.11-15 from rectangular block.

i ʿnhw tp(y)w-t3
mrrw ʿnh mddw hp(y)t
mi [mrr.tn] ...
mi mrr.tn wnn.tn m šmsw n(y)
ntr.tn niwt tp t3

[dd.tn h3 ti h3 hnkt h3 k3w] ...
[h3] ht nb(t) nfrt n
htmty-bity hk3 hwt smr wʿty
hry-hb hrp hwt B3t ...
[im3h hr] Hwt-hr nbt Twnt
m st.s nbt ... [Mni]

O those who (still) live on earth,
who love life and who hate death,
just as [you desire] ...
and just as you desire to be in the following of
you local god on earth.

[May you say 1000 bread, 1000 beer, 1000 beef] ...
[1000] of everything good for
the royal seal-bearer, district ruler, select friend,
lector priest, controller of the sanctuary of Bat ...

³⁷ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 151:2.

[one revered by] Hathor, mistress of Dendera
in every place of hers ... [Meni]

FIP.16

NAME: MONTUHOTEP,³⁸ God's servant
LOCATION: Abydos, stela Cambridge E 9.1922
DATE: FIP, Late 11th Dynasty

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bourriau 1988 pp. 21-22 (no. 10).
Lichtheim 1988 pp. 68-69.
Gardiner 1925a pp. 10 & 19, pls. xvi, xxii-iii.
PM V p. 55.

TEXT FIP.16: Bourriau p. 21 (fig. 10 photo).
Top horizontal line on limestone slab stela.

i ʿnhw tpyw-t3
sw3.t(y).sn hr is.(i) pn
mrrw ʿnh msddw hp(y)t
dd.tn s3h Wsir hnty-imntyw Mntw-[htp]

ink grt tpy m d3mw.f
shd n(y) ʿprw.f
gmw tsw wsd.t(w).f ir(t).f
wšb m spr r sp.f
kb šsp t(i) r tr.f
idn.n n.f shr.f mwt m hnt
it.f hr (dd)³⁹ gm.k s3.i

nfr kd dw3 n bi3t.f
mi hrd hpr m-ʿ it
iw sk (w)i grt w3.kw r nmh
hrp.n.i k3w ir.n.i iw3w
shpr.n.i sšm.i m wʿty.i
kd.n.i pr.(i) šʿd.n.(i) š
hm-ntr Mntw-htp

O those who (still) live on earth,
who shall pass by this tomb (of mine)
and who love life and who hate death,
may you say "May Osiris foremost-of-the-westerners
transform Montu[hotep] into an 3h-spirit.

³⁸ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 154:21.

³⁹ See Gardiner (1957 p. 246) section 321 for *hr* with omitted infinitive meaning "says."

Indeed I am the head of his troop,
 the inspector of his workmen,
 one who finds the speech⁴⁰ for which he is asked
 (and) who answered at once to his deed,
 a cool one who receives bread on time,
 whose conduct serves for him as a mother foremost
 and whose father says “may you find (it), my son.”

Good of reputation, one praised for his character,
 like a child who was raised with a father,
 when indeed I was an orphan.
 I drove⁴¹ cattle and I made oxen.
 I created my business with my goat.
 I built (my) house and I dug a pond –
 the god’s servant Montuhotep.

FIP.17a-b

NAME:

LOCATION:

DATE:

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Two Appeals

MERU, Overseer of the treasury

Stela Turin Suppl. 1447

Said to be from Thebes, but perhaps from Abydos.

FIP, Dynasty 11, year 46 of Nebhepetre Montuhotep⁴²

Klebs 1922 p. 22 Abb. 14.

Lichtheim 1988 pp. 63-64.

Lichtheim 1992 pp. 161-3.

PM I² p. 331.

Rosati 1989 p. 108 (figs. 137 & 138)

Schenkel 1965 pp. 240-1.

TEXT FIP.17a:

Klebs 1922 p. 22 (Abb. 14). Appeal in lunette of stela.

i ḥmw-ntr ḥmwt-ntr

ḥsw ḥswt

ḥnw ḥnwt

šnwt nb nyw t3-wr 3bdw

rn.(i) pw nfr šh3.tn

m 3bd mddjwnt

m W3gy m ḥb nb n(y) 3bdw

⁴⁰ Doxey (1998 p. 389) notes that “one who finds the utterance” is found in CG 20538 and 20539.

⁴¹ I take this series of *sdm.n.f* verb forms (*hrp.n.i*, *ir.n.i*, *shpr.n.i* and *kd.n.i*) as continuatives, neither circumstantial, nor emphatic in function.

⁴² Allen (1996 p. 24) dates Meru’s tomb (TT240) to the beginning of Dynasty 12.

hpr.n tp-w3t nfrt m
Mntw y3wy n ity (Nb-hpt-r)| 'nh dt

O god's servants (both) male and female,
 singers (both) male and female,
 musicians (both) male and female, (forming)
 the entire procession of Thinite Abydos!

It is (my) good name that you should remember
 on the monthly and half monthly feast(s),
 on the *Wagy*-festival and on every feast of Abydos,
 since a good beginning was made when
 Montu gave the two lands to King Nebhepetre,
 living forever.⁴³

TEXT FIP.17b:

Klebs 1922 p. 22 (Abb. 14) and Brugsch 1883-1891
 pp. 1321-2. Horizontal lines 2-9.

dd.f
i 'nhw tpyw-t3
wnn.t(y).s(n) m šms n(y)
hnty-imntyw n(y) Wp-w3wt
mrrw 'nh msddw hp(y)t
w'bw nyw ntr '3
hmw-ntr nb n(y) 3bdw

m mrr.tn wnn im3h.tn hr Wsir
pr hrw.tn s3t.tn
m t(i) hnkt wnn.t(y).f(y) m-'tn
iw dd.tn h3 m t(i) h3 m hnkt
h3 m k3w h3 m 3pdw h3 m šs
h3 m mnht h3 m ht nb(t) nfrt
dd Wsir hnty-imntyw
n htmty-bity smr w'ty
imy-r(3) htmty Mrrw

ir nfr-n wnn m-'tn
dd.tn m r(3).tn m
bw nb wnn.tn im m šms n(y) ntr pn
ink wnt mry rmtw
im3 n mrwt.f

⁴³ Gardiner (1957 p. 226 n.3) translates this last phrase as "a good beginning came about in Mont's giving the two lands to king Nebkherure'." The oar sign (Gardiner P8) is here interpreted phonetically as *hrw*, as in the word for "voice," which is also written with this sign. See also Gardiner in *MDAIK* 14 p. 50.

*iw di.n.(i) t(i) n hkr hbs n h3wy
n-mrt wnn im3h hr ntr ʕ3*

He says:

O those who (still) live on earth,
who will be in the following of the
Foremost-of-westerners (or) of Wepwawet,
who love life and who hate death,
pure ones of the great god,
god's servants of Abydos!

As you desire that your blessed state be with Osiris,
may your invocation and your libation go forth by
means of the bread and beer which shall be in your hand.
May you say 1000 bread, 1000 beer,
1000 beef, 1000 fowl, 1000 alabaster (vessels),
1000 clothing, and 1000 of everything good
that Osiris Foremost-of-the-westerners gives
to the royal seal-bearer, select friend and
overseer of the treasury Meru.

If there is nothing in your hand,
may you speak with your mouth in
whatever place you are among the entourage of this god.
Indeed, I am one whom people love,
one who is well disposed to his supporters.
I have given bread to the hungry and clothes to the naked,
in order to be revered before the great god.

FIP.18

NAME:

MERRI⁴⁴

LOCATION:

Attributed to Abydos, stela CG 1651

DATE:

FIP,⁴⁵ Dynasty 11

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Borchardt 1964 (CGC v. 97.2) pp. 111-112.
Willems 1990 pp. 35-36.

⁴⁴ Ranke 1935 v. 1 p. 162:22.

⁴⁵ It is difficult to assign an exact date to the stela. Borchardt (1964 p. 111) suggested "Altes-Mittleres Reich," and Willems (1990 p. 35) says "it probably dates from the First Intermediate Period or early Middle Kingdom." The white crown of Osiris in the *h3p-di-nsw* formula suggests a date no earlier than Dynasty 11 (Fischer 1976 p. 5 n.1).

TEXT FIP.18:

Borchardt 1964 (CGC v.97.2) p. 111.
Horizontal lines 2-3 across top of stela.

dd.(i)
i ʕnhw i [tpyw-tʒ]
mrrw ʕnh msddw hp(y)t
swʒ.ty.sn hr ʕbʒ pn ...

[dd.t]n hʒ m t(i) hʒ m hnkt
hʒ m ht nb(t) nfrwt
n imʒhy Mrr(i)
hpi.tn [n] niwt.tn m htp

ir grt ir.t(y).f(y)
ʕdʒ.(w) r ʕbʒ.(i) pn
iw.(i r) wpt hnʕ.f
iw shi.tw ts.f mi ʒpd

(I) say:
O living ones, o [ones still on earth],
who love life and who hate death,
those who shall pass by this stela ...

[May you say] 1000 bread, 1000 beer,
1000 of everything good for the revered Merri.
May you travel (to) your town in peace.

As for the one who will commit
unjust acts against this stela (of mine),
I will be judged together with him,
his neck being cut off like (that of) a bird.

FIP.19

NAME:

ENREKHEF⁴⁶

LOCATION:

Hatnub graffito no. 35

DATE:

FIP, undated (probably Dynasty 11)

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Nordh 1996 p. 81 (dates to FIP)

TEXT FIP.19:

Anthes 1928 p. 70 and pl. 23.
Single horizontal line under figures.

⁴⁶ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 168:17.

ir ḥd.t(y).f(y) nn ḥntyw.(i)
in ntrw nyw Wnt ḥsf.sn n.f

As for him who shall harm these images (of mine),
 it is the gods of the Hare nome who will punish him.

FIP.20

NAME: NEFERYU,⁴⁷ Royal seal-bearer
 LOCATION: Dendera (purchased in Qena),
 false-door stela MMA 12.183.8
 DATE: FIP, Dynasty 8 (following Hayes)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Fischer 1963 p. 19 & frontispiece.
 Fischer 1968 pp. 206-209 & pl. xxv.
 Hayes 1953 v.1 pp. 139f. & fig. 82.
 Lichtheim 1988 p. 32.
 Schenkel 1965 pp. 36f. (no. 26).

TEXT FIP.20: Fischer 1968 p. 207 (fig. 42) & Hayes 1953 v.1 fig. 82.
 Four vertical columns on right jamb of false-door.

i ḥnw tp(yw)-t3 mrrw ḥnh

iw sm.n.(i) ḥ3w r rnpt n(y)t ḥtm rḥs⁴⁸
iw ir.n.(i) wr m ḥpš
r mn.(i) m ḥrdw.(i)
in Ṭkr⁴⁹ ir n.(i) st
sḥ3.(i) r ḥ3w r srw
nlwt.(i) r-dr.s m mtrt.(i)

O those who (still) live on earth, who love life!

I helped the magnates until the year of slaughter
 was sealed.⁵⁰

I acted greatly⁵¹ with (my) strong arm
 so that I might endure with (my) children.

⁴⁷ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 194:5.

⁴⁸ Fischer (1968 p. 207) notes parallels to this line from Petrie 1909 pl. 10 line 3.

See also Clère-Vandier 1948 sec. 7.

⁴⁹ The Horus falcon serves as the divine determinative (cf. Fischer 1968 p. 208 and n.820 on p. 211).

⁵⁰ Sealed is used here in the sense of closed or ended. Both Lichtheim (1988 p. 33) and Fischer (1968 p. 207) translate the *r* as “in” indicating a year of hardship, Lichtheim rendering *ḥtm rḥs* as “belt-tightening” and Fischer as “famine” based on a literal rendering of “closing the pouch.”

⁵¹ For *wr* as an adverb, see Edel 1955-64 section 750 (2a).

It is (the god) *Ḥkr* who accomplished it for me that
I might be greater than magnates and magistrates.
My entire town is my witness.

FIP.21

NAME: NEFERIWNU⁵²
LOCATION: Naga ed-Deir, stela N.3769 Berkeley LMA 6-1589
DATE: FIP, late Dynasty 10/Dynasty 11⁵³

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Brovarski 1989 pp. 887-8.
Dunham 1937 pp. 60f. (no. 47).
Lutz 1927 p. 5 (no. 44).
PM V p. 37.
Schenkel 1965 pp. 193-4 (no. 284).

TEXT FIP.21: Lutz 1927 pl. 23. Horizontal lines of inscription.

i ḥnw tpyw-t3
sw3.ty.sn ḥr is.(i) pn
mi mrr.tn dw3 ntr.tn
ib.tn ndm
dd.tn ḥ3 t(i) ḥnkt k3w 3pdw
3pdw 3pdw 3pdw šš mnḥt
n smr im3ḥ Nfr-iwnw

O those who (still) live on earth,
those who shall pass by this tomb (of mine)!
Inasmuch as you desire to worship your god
and that your heart be happy,
may you say 1000 bread, beer, beef, fowl,
fowl, fowl, fowl,⁵⁴ alabaster, and cloth
for the companion, the revered Neferiwnu.

FIP.22

NAME: NEFERNEHESI, ḥ3ty-^c and lector priest
LOCATION: Naga ed-Deir, stela N.3972 Berkeley LMA 6-2042
DATE: FIP, Dynasty 9/10⁵⁵

⁵² Ranke 1935 v. I p. 194:10.

⁵³ Brovarski 1989 p. 887. Dunham (1937 p. 124) places this stela in his "early middle" group and Schenkel (1965 p. 193) notes that its date is "*sehr unsicher*."

⁵⁴ Possibly four different types of fowl (*3pdw*) are meant.

⁵⁵ This stela falls within the polychrome group (Stettgast 1963 p. 14; Brovarski 1989 p. 601), which Brovarski (1980 col. 309) places in the second half of Dynasty 9. It falls in Dunham's (1937 p. 124) "early middle" group.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Brovarski 1989 pp. 610-613.
 Dunham 1937 pp. 49-50 (no. 37).
 Lutz 1927 p. 18 (no. 34).

TEXT FIP.22:

Lutz 1927 pl. 18. Horizontal lines 5-7 followed
 by a vertical line in front of the figures.

dd.(f)
pr.n.(i) m pr.(i)
h3.n.(i) m sp3(t)
ir.n.(i) r htpt
sbi.n.(i) r im3h
ink dd nfr whm nfr
rđi ht n tp-nfr

i nhw tpyw-t3
mrrw nh msdd hp(y)t
sw3.ty.sn hr b3 pn m hd m hnt

[iw.tn] rđit n.[i ti hnkt] m-^c.tn
ir nfr-n wnn m-^c.tn
iw.tn r [dd] m r(3).t(n) h3 m t(i) hnkt
h3 k3w h3 3pdw h3 m ht nb(t) nfr(t) (n)
iry-p^ct h3ty-^c im3h Nfr-nhsi

(He) says:

I have gone forth from (my) house and
 I have descended from (my) nome.⁵⁶
 I have acted for satisfaction and
 I have attained a revered state.
 I am one who speaks well, who repeats well,
 who arranges matters successfully.

O those who (still) live on earth,
 who love life and who hate death,
 those who shall pass by this stela,
 (either) going downstream or upstream!

[You] will give to [me bread and beer] from your hand.
 If there is nothing in your hand, however,
 you will speak with your mouth 1000 bread and beer,
 1000 beef, 1000 fowl, 1000 of everything good [for] the
 hereditary noble and h3ty-^c, the blessed Nefernehesi.

⁵⁶ These are traditional statements in Old Kingdom biographical texts (Kloth 2002 pp. 57-59).

FIP.23

NAME: NEHRI⁵⁷ (I), Ruler of the Hare nome
 LOCATION: Hatnub graffito no. 16
 DATE: FIP, Dynasty 11 (?)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Anthes 1928 pp. 35f.
 Doret 1986 pp. 142 & 155.
 Griffith and Newberry 1894 II pp. 50-51 (Graffito VII).
 Morschauser 1987 p. 258.

TEXT FIP.23: Anthes 1928 pp. 35f. and pl. 16.
 Vertical lines 13-14 and 21-22 at end of graffito.⁵⁸

ir grt skd nb
ḫi.t(y).f(y) [ḫf n twt pn]
[tw.f ph] pr.f snb(w)
ir.n.f ii[t.n.f] r.s

[ir ḫd.ty.fy nn] ḫntyw
in ntrw nyw Wnt [hsf.sn n.f]

Now as for any traveler
 who shall lift up [his arm to this image],
 [he will reach] his house safely
 after his having attained that for which he came.

As for the one who shall harm these figures,
 it is the gods of the Hare nome [who will punish him].⁵⁹

FIP.24

NAME: NEHRI (I), Ruler of the Hare nome
 LOCATION: Hatnub graffito no. 20
 DATE: FIP, Dynasty 11(?), Nehri's year 6

TEXT FIP.24: Anthes 1928 pp. 42-47 and pl. 18.
 Vertical lines 22-24 at end of graffito.

⁵⁷ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 208:23.

⁵⁸ The tops of lines 15-20 are preserved, but so little remains that these lines cannot be translated.
 The text has been reconstructed according to parallels in Hatnub graffiti nos. 17 and 19.

⁵⁹ The construction *in* + noun + *sdm.f* has future sense, as explained in Gardiner (1957 p. 175) section 227.2. The *sdm.f* would be a prospective form and this construction places the emphasis on the subject (Allen 1999 p. 385) section 25.18.

ir grt skd nb
ḫl.t(y).f(y) ʿ.f n twt pn
iw.f ph pr.f snb(w)
ir.n.f iit.n.f r.s

Now as for any traveler
 who shall lift up his arm to this image,
 he will reach his house safely
 after his having attained that for which he came.

FIP.25

NAME: RENU,⁶⁰ Seal-bearer
 LOCATION: Hatnub graffito no. 28
 DATE: FIP, Dynasty 11(?) Nehri's year 8

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Anthes 1928 pp. 63-65.
 Doret 1986 p. 171.

TEXT FIP.25: Anthes 1928 pp. 63-65 and pl. 30.

ir grt ii nb r st (tn)
iw ph.n.f mšʿ.(f)
iw gm.n.i ʿ3
ir.n.i ...
ink grt ... hr Rnw(?)

[ir] grt skd nb
ḫl.t(y).f(y) ʿ.f n twt pn
iw.f ph pr.f snb(w)
ir.n.f iit.n.f r.s

Now as for anyone who has come to (this) place,
 when he has completed (his) expedition.
 I have discovered (it)⁶¹ here.
 I have made ...
 Now I am ...⁶²

⁶⁰ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 224.

⁶¹ Presumably the unexpressed object refers to the graffiti on the cliff face, so obvious that it did not need to be explicitly expressed.

⁶² In the lacuna, Renu may have indicated that he made his own images on the cliff face. The last few hieroglyphic signs may be a writing of Renu's name.

Now as for any traveler
 who shall lift up his arm to this image,
 he will reach his house safely
 after his having attained that for which he came.

FIP.26a-b Two Appeals
NAME: HEMITRE,⁶³ Royal acquaintance and priestess of Hathor
LOCATION: False door stela allegedly from Busiris (in Delta)
 Fitzwilliam Museum E.6.1909 (Cambridge UK)
DATE: FIP, Dynasty 10 (?)
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Fischer 1976 pp. 5-25.
 Vassilika 1995 pp. 22-23.
TEXT FIP.26a: Fischer 1976 p. 17. Vertical column (B2) on left of stela.

i ʕnhw tpyw-t3
sw3.t(y).sn hr w3t tn
dd.t(y).sn t(i) hnkt
wʕb pw n Wsir
iw n(y) im3hywt⁶⁴ Hmi(t-rʕ)

O those who (still) live on earth,
 who shall pass by this way,
 who shall say “(1000) bread and beer,
 it is a purification for Osiris,⁶⁵
 which belongs to the revered one Hemi(tre).”

TEXT FIP.26b: Fischer 1976 p. 17. Vertical column (F2 and G1-2)
 on either side of stela centre.

ir sš nb sw3.ty.fy hr is.(i) pn
dd.ty.fy t(i) hnkt
n nbt is pn im3hwt Hmi(t-rʕ)
ink rdit t(i) hnkt n hkr
hbs n h3wy
hsyt n(y)t hi.s Hmi(t-rʕ)

⁶³ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 240:5.

⁶⁴ A transitional writing between *im3hwt* typical for the Old Kingdom, and *im3hy* typical of the Herakleopolitan Period and Dynasty 11 (Fischer 1976 p. 20 and Schenkel 1962 sec. 16b).

⁶⁵ Fischer (1976 p. 15) reads “it is the pure bread of Osiris.” As a parallel he cites two Sixth Dynasty examples from Saqqara reading “it is the pure bread of Osiris, it is for NN,” namely 1) Ikhekhi (James and Apted 1953 pl. 31 [185] and 2) Sesi (Erman 1919 p. 33).

ir rmṯt nb ḏd.ty.sn
t(i) hnkt n Hmi(t-r^c) m is.s pn
ink 3h ikr
n di.i ḏw n.sn

As for any scribe who shall pass by this tomb (of mine),
 who shall say (1000) bread and beer
 for the mistress of this tomb, the revered Hemi(tre),
 I am the one who gives bread and beer to the hungry
 and clothing to the naked, and (who is)
 one who is praised of her husband, Hemi(tre)

As for all people who shall say
 bread and beer for Hemi(tre) in this her tomb,
 I am an effective 3h-spirit⁶⁶ and
 I will not cause evil for them.⁶⁷

FIP.27

NAME:

HENY,⁶⁸ Royal chamberlain

LOCATION:

Thebes (Dra Abu el-Naga?), stela
 Moscow Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts,
 Rumiantzev Collection 18/17/III/78

DATE:

FIP, Dynasty 11, reign of Wahankh Intef (II)

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Clère-Vandier 1948 pp. 12-13 (no. 17)
 PM I² p. 598.
 Vandier 1954 fig. 287.

TEXT FIP.27:

Clère-Vandier 1948 pp. 12-13 (no. 17)
 Vertical lines at bottom of stela.

i ʿnhw tp(y)w-t3
mrrw ʿnh msḏḏw hp(y)t
sw3.t(y).sn hr [w3t tn]
ḏd.tn h3 t(i) hnkt
h3 k3w 3pdw
h3 šs mnht
h3 ht nb n im3h [Hny]

⁶⁶ See Edel 1944 pp. 19-21 for the phrase 3h ikr. Here the masculine form is used, just as in the false-door stela of Sefegat, another woman.

⁶⁷ Fischer (1976 p. 15) glosses as “will not allow it to go ill with them.”

⁶⁸ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 242:23.

O those who (still) live on earth,
 who love life and who hate death,
 who shall pass by [this way]!

May you say 1000 bread and beer,
 1000 beef and fowl,
 1000 alabaster (vessels) and clothing,
 1000 of everything for the revered one [Heny].

FIP.28

NAME: HENNI,⁶⁹ *h3ty-^c*
 LOCATION: Naga ed-Deir, stela seen on antiquities market
 DATE: FIP, Dynasty 9 (red group stela)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Brovarski 1989 pp. 576-8.
 Vandier 1936 pp. 43-51.

TEXT FIP.28: Vandier 1936 p. 45 & pl. 1.
 Vertical lines starting at right side of stela.

h3ty-^c Hnni dd(w)
i n^chw [tpyw-t3]
mrrw n^chw msddw hp(y)t
sw3.(ty.sn) hr w3t tn

mi mrr.tn hs tn
[ntr.tn niwty.tn] nty tn hr.f
iw.tn r rdit n.(i) t(i) hnkt
m nt(y)t hr.[tn]

[ir nfr-n] wnn hr.tn
dd.tn r(3).tn t(i) hnkt
[k3w 3pdw n] h^cty-^c Hnni

The count Henni says:
 O those who (still) live [on earth],
 who love life and who hate death,
 [who shall] pass by this way!

As you wish that [your local deity]⁷⁰
 under whom you are should favour you,

⁶⁹ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 244:24.

⁷⁰ Vandier (1938 p. 48) restores this lacuna as [*In-hrt*] on the basis of a parallel at Meir (Urk. I 223.18), but it is doubtful whether the restored signs would suffice to fill the space (Brovarski 1989 p. 578). Your local god (*ntr.tn niwty.tn*) would fill the lacuna.

(so) shall you give to me the bread and beer
which is in your possession.

[But if there is nothing] in your possession,
may you say with your mouth
“(1000) bread, beer [beef, and fowl]
for the *ḥ3ty-ꜥ* Henni.”

FIP.29

NAME: HENQU, Prince of the 12th Upper Egyptian nome
LOCATION: Deir el-Gebrawi cliff tomb no. 67
DATE: FIP, end of Dynasty 6 or later

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Breasted 1906 v. I sections 280-1.
Garnot 1938 pp. 43-45 (text no. IX).
Griffith in Davies 1902 pp. 27-31.
PM IV p. 242.
Schenkel 1965 pp. 41-44 (no. 34).

TEXT FIP.29: Davies 1902 II pls. 24-25 and Urk. I 76.5-13.
Two horizontal lines on east wall of tomb.⁷¹

i rmtw nb n(y) 3tft
i ḥryw-[tp ʕ3] n(y)w kywt sp3wt
sw3.t(y).sn ḥr is.(i pn)

ink Hnḳw dd nfr(w) bnr(w)
sit mw [di] t(i) hnkt
n im3ḥw ḥr M3t(y)t nb(t) i3kmt
ḥr ʕnty [ḥry-ib] prw nyw Mʕm
n (i)ry-pʕt ḥ3ty-ꜥ sm smr wʕty
ḥry-ḥb ḥry-tp ʕ3 Dw.f
im3ḥw ḥr nb.f Hnḳw

O all people of the 12th Upper Egyptian nome!⁷²
O great chieftains of other nomes,
who shall pass by this tomb (of mine)!

⁷¹ The tomb biography continues with one horizontal line and some 30 further vertical lines.

⁷² The twelfth nome of Upper Egypt, which includes the area of Deir el-Gebrawi. Lichtheim (1988 p. 23) calls this “Mountainviper nome.” Breasted (1906 I p. 126) and Griffith in Davies (1902 II p. 30) call this “Cerastes-Mountain nome.” The transliteration *3tft* is from Gomaà 1986 p. 256-7.

I am Henqu. Speak sweet good things.⁷³
 Pour out a libation, and [give] bread and beer
 to the one honoured by Matit, Lady of Iakmet,⁷⁴
 in honour of Anty, who dwells in the temples of Maꜥm,
 to the hereditary noble, *h3ty-ꜥ*, *sem*-priest,
 select friend, lector priest, great chief of the 12th nome of
 Upper Egypt, honoured by his master Henqu.

FIP.30

NAME: HEKENU,⁷⁵ Royal chamberlain
 LOCATION: Said to be from Moꜥalla, stela Louvre E 26.904
 DATE: FIP, end of Dynasty 6 or later

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Vandier 1971 pp. 103-4.
 Ziegler 1990 pp. 204-6.

TEXT FIP.30: Ziegler 1990 p. 204. Bottom horizontal line of stela.

tp(y)w-t3
mrrw wnn im3h.sn
hr (i)t.sn
ḏdw ḥnk (m) t(i) ḥnkt mw

(O) those who are (still) on earth,
 who desire that their blessedness should be
 with their (fore)fathers,⁷⁶
 speak the offering (prayer) of bread, beer, and water.

FIP.31

NAME: KHA, Overseer of craftsmen
 LOCATION: False door stela from Giza tomb 7211 B,
 now Boston Museum of Fine Arts 25.1514
 DATE: FIP, late Dynasty 6 or later⁷⁷

⁷³ Taken as the first of three imperatives. Lichtheim (1988 p. 23) treats this as an adjective phrase modifying Henqu, "the well-and-soft-spoken."

⁷⁴ For Iakmet, see Zibelius 1978 pp. 15-17.

⁷⁵ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 257:3.

⁷⁶ Following a suggestion from Katja Goebs (personal communication).

⁷⁷ Included by Daoud (2005 p. 146) among his corpus of Memphite inscriptions of the Herakleopolitan Period, due to such features as the posture of adoration in which the deceased is depicted on the right jamb of the stela and the use of *ḏw3* in the opening formula.

- BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Daoud 2005 pp. 11-12 & pl. VI.
D'Auria, Lacovara and Roehrig 1988 pp. 95-96.
Goedicke 1958 pp. 53-55 & Taf. 1.
PM III² p. 192.
- TEXT FIP.31:** *i ʕnhw tpyw-t3*
sw3.t(y).sn hr is.(i) pn
- dd h3 t(i) h3 hnkt h3 p3t*
m hry-hb n im3hw
imy-r(3) hmtyw mdhw
im3hw hr nb.f H3i
- O those who (still) live on earth,
who shall pass by this tomb (of mine)!
Say 1000 bread, 1000 beer, (and) 1000 cakes
(along) with the lector priest for the revered one,
the Overseer of craftsmen and carpenters,
the one revered by his lord, Kha.
- FIP.32**
NAME: KHETY (I), *h3ty-ʕ*
LOCATION: Asyut tomb no. 5
DATE: FIP, Dynasty 9/10 (Herakleopolitan Period)
- BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Brunner 1937 pp. 15 & 69.
Edel 1984 pp. 157-177.
Lichtheim 1988 pp. 26-27.
PM IV p. 264.
Schenkel 1965 p. 69 (no. 55).
- TEXT FIP.32:** Edel 1984 p. 167 (fig. 22, lines 45-48)
Griffith 1889 pl. 15 and Montet 1930-35 p. 111.
Two horizontal lines followed by two vertical lines
on northern door jamb at tomb entrance.
- [iry-pʕt] h3ty-ʕ*
im(y)-r(3) hm(w)-ntr n(y) Wp-w3wt
im3h(w) Hty
- [i ʕk.ty].sn r is.(i) pn*
dw3-ntr n Hty
ir n.f htp-di-nsw
[hmww] pw n wnt.f

dw3 niwt.f ʿhʿw.s
sdsr htp-ntr.s
sš3w r wrw ibw.sn hfnnw
mry Ifnw shprw Pth
wḏ.f mdww
sh3w tp t3 Hty

[Hereditary noble], *h3ty-ʿ*,
 overseer of the god's servants of Wepwawet,
 the revered Khety.

[O those who shall enter] this tomb (of mine)!
 Give thanks on behalf of Khety and
 make for him a *htp-di-nsw* (prayer).
 (Because) he was [an expert] in his time,
 one praised by his town, its support,
 who secured its divine offering,
 one wiser than the magnates whose hearts are rash,
 one beloved of the *Ifnw*—serpent⁷⁸ which Ptah created
 whose command is spoken,
 one who is remembered on earth, Khety.

FIP.33

NAME:

SOBEKAA⁷⁹

LOCATION:

Naga ed-Deir, stela Leiden 1902/7.1

DATE:

FIP, late Dynasty 10/Dynasty 11

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Brovarski 1989 pp. 937-9.
 Schenkel 1965 pp. 196-7 (no.291).

TEXT FIP.33:

Boeser 1905 v.2:1 pl. 1.

i ʿnhw tp(y)w-t3
mrrw ʿnh msḏḏw hp(y)t
sw3.t(y).tn hr ʿb3.(i) pn
iw.tn r ḏḏ h3 m t(i) hnkt
n im3h Sbk-ʿ3w

O those who (still) live on earth,
 who love life and who hate death,
 those who shall pass by this stela (of mine)!
 You will say 1000 bread and beer

⁷⁸ Lichtheim (1988 p. 27) glosses as “the Winding one.”

⁷⁹ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 303:24.

for the revered Sobekaa.

FIP.34

NAME: SOBEKEMHAT,⁸⁰ Overseer of quarry work
 LOCATION: Hatnub graffito no. 22
 DATE: FIP, Dynasty 11(?), Nehri's year 7

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Anthes 1928 pp. 48-52.
 Doret 1986 pp. 155-163.
 Griffith and Newberry 1894 II pp. 49-50 (Graffito IX).

TEXT FIP.34: Anthes 1928 pp. 48-52 and pl. 22.
 Vertical line 21 at end of graffito.

ir grt skd nb
βi.t(y).f(y) ʿf n twt pn
lw.fr ph pr.fsnb(w)
ir.n.f lit.n.fr.s

Now as for any traveler
 who shall life up his arm to this image,
 he will reach his home safely
 after his having attained that for which he came.

FIP.35

NAME: SENENI,⁸¹ Carpenter of the king
 LOCATION: Dendera, stela Royal Scottish Museum 1910.96
 DATE: FIP, Dynasty 9

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Fischer 1968 pp. 195, 209-213 & pl. xxvi.
 Lichtheim 1988 pp. 33-34.
 Lichtheim 1992 p. 160.
 Petrie 1897 pp. 7 & 7A.

TEXT FIP.35: Fischer 1968 p. 210 (fig. 43).
 Two horizontal lines in upper half of stela.

dd.(f)
i ʿnhw i tpyw-t3
mrrw ʿnh msddw hp(y)t
dd.in h3 mw h3 t(i) h3 hnkt
h3 k3w h3 3pdw h3 ghs h3 m3-hd

⁸⁰ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 304:4.

⁸¹ *Ibid.* p. 316:6.

h3 mn(h)t h3 ht nbt nfrt n Snni

(He) says:

O those who (still) live, those (still) on earth,
who love life and who hate death,
may you say 1000 water, 1000 bread, 1000 beer,
1000 beef, 1000 fowl, 1000 gazelle, 1000 oryx,
1000 clothes, 1000 of everything good to Seneni.

FIP.36

NAME:

SEGERSENTI

LOCATION:

Nubia, Khor Dehmit graffito no. 308

DATE:

FIP, Dynasty 8, King Wadjkare

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Brovarski 1989 p. 21 (n.19) & p. 511.
Roeder 1911 pp. 115-6 (graffito 308).

TEXT FIP.36:

Roeder 1911 p. 115 & pl. 109a
Two horizontal lines of text.

*ʿnhw tp(yw)-t3
rmtw ipn sw3.t(y).sn Pr-snbt
mrrw ʿnhw msddw hp(y)t*

*m mr.tn grg prywt.tn
hr msw nyw msw.tn
dd.tn h3 t(i)w hnkt k3w 3pdw
irpw hbsw ht nb(t) nfr(t)
n im3h hr ntr ʿ3 nb pt
mry s3 Rʿ Sgr-snti*

(O) those who (still) live on earth,
those people who shall pass by Per-Senebet(?),⁸²
who love life and who hate death!
As you desire that your houses
be established by your grandchildren,
may you say 1000 bread, beer, beef, fowl,
wine, clothing and everything good
for the one revered by the great god, the lord of heaven,
beloved of the son of Ra, Segersenti.

⁸² Presumably a local landmark, literally “the house of the woman Senebet.”
Roeder (1911 p. 115) glosses as “Persenbet.”

FIP.37

NAME: SHEMAI,⁸³ Lector priest and senior overseer of scribes
 LOCATION: Wadi Hammamat rock cut inscription M150
 DATE: FIP, Dynasty 8, King Neferkawhor⁸⁴

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Couyet-Montet 1912-13 pp. 91-92, pl. XXXV.
 Garnot 1938 pp. 74-75 (text no. XIX).
 PM VII p. 330.
 Schenkel 1965 p. 34 (no. 34).

TEXT FIP.37: Urk. I 149.16-150.2.

*i nḥw iw.t(y).sn r ḥ3st tn
 mrrw ḥ3t r šmꜥw
 hr inw.sn n nb.sn*

*dd.tn ḥ3 m t(i) ḥ3 m ḥnkt
 ḥ3 m k3w ḥ3 m 3pdw ḥ3 m šs
 ḥ3 m mnht ḥ3 m hr nb(t) nfrt
 n ḥtmty-bity smr wꜥty hry-ḥb
 s3b imy-r(3) sš šm3i*

O living ones who shall come to this foreign hill country,
 those who desire to go back down to Upper Egypt,
 bearing their produce to their lord!

May you say 1000 bread, 1000 beer,
 1000 beef, 1000 fowl, 1000 alabaster (vessels),
 1000 clothing, and 1000 of everything good
 for the royal seal-bearer, select friend, lector priest
 the senior overseer of scribes Shemai.

FIP.38

NAME: SHEDITI,⁸⁵ Lector priest
 LOCATION: Naga ed-Deir (Sheikh Farang 203)
 stela Cairo 19:11:24:2
 DATE: FIP, Dynasty 9/10⁸⁶

⁸³ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 327:20.

⁸⁴ The date of this inscription is indicated by Wadi Hammamat text 3041, discovered in 1987 (Farout 1994 p. 160). I owe this reference to the kindness of R.J. Leprohon.

⁸⁵ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 330:13. Literally Shediti translates as "whom his father saved."

- BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Brovarski 1989 pp. 616-8.
 Dunham 1937 pp. 74-75 (no. 62).
 Schenkel 1962 p. 101 (Group G).
 Schenkel 1965 pp. 185-6 (no. 264).
- TEXT FIP.38:** Dunham 1937 p. 74 & pl. XX.2.
 Bottom 1½ horizontal lines of inscription, then two
 vertical columns in front of depiction of deceased.

dd.(f)
ink nds ikr
ir(w) m hpš.f
ink mry(w).n it.f
hsy(w).n mwt.f
mrrw snwt ...

[i] *nhw tp(yw)-t3*
mrrw nh msdd hp(y)t
iw.tn r dd h3 m t(i) h3 m hnkt
h3 m k3w h3 m 3pdw, h3 m [ht] nfr(t)
n h3ty-^c im3hy šd-it.f

(He) says:
 I am an excellent commoner
 who acted with his strong arm.
 I am one whom his father loved,
 one whom his mother favoured,
 one whom his siblings loved ...

(O) those who (still) live on earth,
 who love life and who hate death!
 You will say 1000 bread, 1000 beer,
 1000 beef, 1000 fowl, 1000 of everything good
 for the *h3ty-^c*, the revered one Shediti.

FIP.39

NAME:

KAKA⁸⁷

LOCATION:

Girga district (Naga ed-Deir),
 stela Oriental Institute (Chicago) 16955

DATE:

FIP, Dynasty 9/10⁸⁸

⁸⁶ This stela falls in the polychrome group (Stettgast 1963 p. 14; Brovarski 1989 p. 601). Although Brovarski (1980 col. 309) places the polychrome stelae in the second half of Dynasty 9, Fischer has placed many of these stelae in Dynasty 10. It falls in Dunham's (1937 p. 124) "late middle" group.

⁸⁷ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 348:32.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Brovarski 1989 p. 625.
 Dunham 1937 pp. 101-2, pl. XXXI (no. 83).
 Lichtheim 1992 p. 160.
 PM V p. 27.
 Schenkel 1962 p. 101 (Group G).
 Schenkel 1965 p. 186 (no. 265).

TEXT FIP.39:

Dunham 1937 pl. XXI. Vertical lines 2-5 on stela.

dd.(f)
ink mry(w).n it.f hsy(w).n mwt.f
mrrw.n snwt.f
im3 n 3bt msw.f

i nḥw tpyw-t3
mrrw nḥ msddw hp(y)t
sw3.t(y).sn hr is.(i) pn

iw.tn r dit n.i t(i) ḥnkt m nt(y)t m-ḥ.tn
ir nfr-n wnn m-ḥ.tn
iw.tn r dd m r3.tn
h3 m t(i) ḥnkt h3 k3w h3 3pdw
h3 m ht nb(t) nfr(t) n h3ty-ḥ
im3h hr ntr ḥ3 K3k3

(He) says:

I am one whom his father loves and his mother favours,
 one whom his siblings love and
 one who is pleasing to the families of his children.

O those who (still) live on earth,
 who love life and who hate death,
 those who shall pass by this tomb (of mine)!

You will give to me bread and beer
 from that which is in your hand(s).
 If (however) there is nothing in your hand(s),
 you will speak with your mouth
 1000 bread and beer, 1000 beef, 1000 fowl,
 1000 of everything good for the *h3ty-ḥ*, the
 one revered with the great god, Kaka.

⁸⁸ This stela falls in the polychrome group (Stettgast 1963 p. 14; Brovarski 1989 p. 601). Although Brovarski (1980 col. 309) places the polychrome stelae in the second half of Dynasty 9, Fischer has placed many of these stelae in Dynasty 10. It falls in Dunham's (1937 p. 124) "early middle" group.

FIP.40

NAME: TJEBY,⁸⁹ Lector priest
 LOCATION: Naga ed-Deir, stela N.3765,⁹⁰ Berkeley LMA 6-1826
 DATE: FIP, Dynasty 9/10⁹¹

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Brovarski 1989 pp. 619-620.
 Dunham 1937 pp. 80-82 (no. 69).
 Schenkel 1962 p. 101 (Group G).
 Schenkel 1965 p. 178 (no. 244).

TEXT FIP.40: Dunham 1937 p. 81 & pl. XXIV.1
 Three vertical columns in lower right of stela.

*i ʿnhw tp(yw)-t3
 sw3.t(y).sn hr ʿb3.(i) pn
 m hdi hnti*

*tw.tn r dd h3 m t(i) hnkt
 h3 k3w 3pdw h3 ht nb(t) nfr(t)
 n im3h Tby*

O those who (still) live on earth,
 who shall pass by this stela (of mine)
 while going (either) downstream or upstream!

You will say 1000 bread and beer,
 1000 beef and fowl, 1000 of everything good
 for the revered one, Tjeby.

FIP.41

NAME: DJEHUTYNAKHTE (V), Nehri's son
 LOCATION: Hatnub graffito no. 17
 DATE: FIP, Dynasty 11 (?), Nehri's year 5

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Anthes 1928 pp. 38f.

⁸⁹ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 390:17.

⁹⁰ Dunham (1937 p. 2) incorrectly presumed that this stela was in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo.

⁹¹ This stela falls in the polychrome group (Stettgast 1963 p. 14; Brovarski 1989 p. 601). Although Brovarski (1980 col. 309) places the polychrome stelae in the second half of Dynasty 9, Fischer has placed many of these stelae in Dynasty 10. It falls in Dunham's (1937 p. 124) "early middle" group

Griffith and Newbery 1894 II pp. 52-3 (Graffito XII)
Simpson 1955 p. 302.

TEXT FIP.41:

Anthes 1928 pp. 38f. and pl. 16.
Vertical lines 14-15 at end of graffito.

ir grt skd nb
βl.t(y).f(y) ʿ.f n twt pn
iw.f r ph pr.f snb(w)
ir.n.f iwt.n.f r.s

Now as for any traveller
who shall lift up his arm to this image,
he will reach his house safely
after his having attained that for which he came.

FIP.42

NAME:

DJEHUTYNAKHTE-ANKHW,⁹² Scribe

LOCATION:

Hatnub graffito no. 12

DATE:

FIP, Dynasty 10 (?),
year 13 of Ahanakhte (ruler of Hare nome)

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Anthes 1928 pp. 28f.
Doret 1986 pp. 142-3.
Lichtheim 1992 pp. 27-29.

TEXT FIP.42:

Anthes 1928 pp. 28f. and pl. 15.
Two vertical lines at end of graffito.

ir grt skd nb
βl.t(y).f(y) ʿ.f n twt pn
iw.f r ph pr.f snb(w)
ir.n.f iwt.n.f r.s

Now as for any traveller
who shall lift up his arm to this image,
he will reach his house safely
after his having attained that for which he came.

⁹² Ranke 1935 v. I p. 408:8.

4.0 MIDDLE KINGDOM APPEALS

There are more Appeal texts preserved from the Middle Kingdom than from either the Old Kingdom or First Intermediate Period and as a group they are more diverse. The Middle Kingdom is here defined as Dynasties 12 and 13; during these dynasties the uncertain period of royal authority during the First Intermediate Period and Dynasty 11 came to an end. Royal authority was reasserted, as reflected in the Appeal texts which once again refer to the love of the king and royal beneficence. In the early 12th Dynasty especially, there is a continuation of trends already seen in the First Intermediate Period, such as regional variation and the propagation of Appeals by expeditions outside the Nile Valley. Good examples of these trends occur at Hatnub and Asyut, where Appeals continue in the First Intermediate Period tradition through the reign of Sesostri I.

Already in the First Intermediate Period, the Thinite region had seen a concentration of Appeal texts and this tradition only intensified in the 12th and 13th Dynasties, as Abydos became an important national religious centre. The popularity of the Appeal texts is partly a reflection of the large amount of non-royal inscribed material that has been preserved from Middle Kingdom Abydos¹ and partly a reflection of the nature of this material, most of which consists of stelae designed to ensure the deceased the benefits of the cult of Osiris,² specifically to participate in the annual procession celebrating the resurrection of Osiris (Collier 1998 p. 54 and Yoyotte 1960 pp. 33-39). Although

¹ Parkinson (1991 pp. 136-7) notes that Abydos is the source for the "single major group of Middle Kingdom stelae." Doxey (1998 pp. 14-15) also notes the predominance of stelae from Abydos in her discussion of sources. Franke (2001a p. 395) mentions a 'corpus of more than two thousand inscribed stelae, donated by kings as well as inferior "nobodies" and mostly erected at the holy site of Abydos.'

² By the Middle Kingdom the original deity of Abydos, Khentyamentiyu (Foremost of the westerners), had been merged with Osiris; the tomb of King Djer had then been identified as the tomb of Osiris (Wegner 2001 p. 9).

funerary monuments, these stelae were not erected in connection with the tomb of the deceased. Nevertheless, the annual Osiris festival obviously attracted a large crowd of visitors to the site who could be expected to read the stelae and make invocation offerings to those commemorated there.

With about 60% of the Middle Kingdom Appeal texts in this study coming from the site of Abydos, it is no surprise that the dominant placement for Middle Kingdom Appeals is on stelae. Appeals continue to appear in tombs (e.g. of Sarenput at Qubbet el-Hawa and of Djefahapi at Asyut) and on stelae set up in connection with tombs, such as at Haraga and Qaw el-Kebir. More frequently, the Appeal texts are connected with cultic centres; not only the Osiris temple at Abydos, but the shrine of Heqaib at Elephantine and the royal mortuary temples at Dahshur and Saqqara are important sources for Middle Kingdom Appeals. The mortuary connection of these shrines helps explain the popularity of the Appeal texts in this new temple context. In this new context, Appeals begin to be placed on statues of the deceased as well.

The Middle Kingdom Appeal texts used in the study follow:

MK.1

NAME:	Anonymous
LOCATION:	Aswan, Elephantine sanctuary of Heqaib, stela
DATE:	Dynasty 13
BIBLIOGRAPHY:	Habachi 1985 p. 104 (no. 88)
TEXT MK.1:	Habachi 1985 p. 104 (fig. 9) & pl. 183a. Inscription begins with horizontal line in front of the concave cornice and continues in three horizontal lines below the torus moulding.

ir sr nb hm-ntr nb
w^cb nb rmtw nb
ʿk.ty.sn r hwt-k3 pn

m mrr.tn hss tn
iry-p^c(t) Hk3-ib m3^c-hrw
mi dd.tn htp-di-nsw
St(y)t Hnmw ʿnkt
di.sn prt-hrw t(i) hnkt ...

As for any official, any god's servant,
 any pure one, (or) any person
 who shall enter this *k3* chapel!

As much as you desire that the hereditary noble
 Heqaib justified should favour you,
 likewise you should say a *htp-di-nsw* (prayer)
 to Satis, Khnum and Anukis³
 that they may give invocation offerings of bread, beer ...

MK.2

NAME:

Anonymous⁴

LOCATION:

Hatnub graffito no. 32

DATE:

Dynasty 12(?), year 20 of Djehutyhotep
 (ruler of the Hare nome and son of Nehri)

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Anthes 1928 pp. 67-68.
 Doret 1986 p. 154.

TEXT MK.2:

Anthes 1928 pp. 67-8 and pl. 29.
 Vertical lines 5-7 at end of graffito.

h3i.n.i hr hrw
ir.n.i wd nb.i
Dhwti-htp(w) ʿnh wd3 snb

ir grt ii nb mi-n3
n in(w) n.f s3
ir grt f3i.t(y).f(y) ʿfn twt pn
iw.f[r ph] pr.f snb(w)

³ These are the local deities of Elephantine.

⁴ Name of official is not preserved, but his son's name is Kanakht.

I came down (on this) day
after having done what my lord,
Djehutyhotep, life, prosperity, and health,
ordered.

Now as for anyone who has come here,
it was not worth it for him.⁵
Now as for the one who shall lift up his arm to this image,
may he [reach] his house safely.⁶

MK.3

NAME: IYKHERNOFRET,⁷ Overseer of the treasury
LOCATION: Abydos, stela CG 20683
DATE: Dynasty 12, Sesostriis III⁸

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Lange and Schäfer 1908 (CGC v.36) pp. 310-11.
Leprohon 1978 p. 34.
Simpson 1974 p. 17 (ANOC 1.5).

TEXT MK.3: Lange and Schäfer 1908 (CGC v.36) pp. 310 and
Simpson 1974 pl. 2. Horizontal lines 1-8 at top of stela.

*ʿnhw tp(yw)-t3
rmtw nbt hry-ḥb nb sš nb
sw3.t(y).sn hr mʿhʿt.(i) tn*

*m mrr.tn grg ḥwt-ntr n(y)t Wsir
ḥnty-imntyw nb 3bdw
ntr ʿ3 hr(y)-ib imy-wr
m mrr.tn Wp-w3wt nb t3-dsr
Inpw ntr bnr mrt
m mr.t(n) ʿnh n(y) n(y)-swt*

*sh3.tn ʿnh smh.t(n) m(w)t
ir.tn ḥbw n ntrw.tn (niwtyw)
dd.tn ḥ3 m t(i) ḥnkt k3w 3pdw sntrw
mrhwt n k3 n(y) ḥtmty-bity
smr wʿty imy-r3 ḥt nbt n(y)t n(y)-swt*

⁵ Literally “value was not brought (back) to him.”

⁶ Without the reconstruction, this phrase could be read “may his house be healthy.”

⁷ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 10:17.

⁸ Dated on the basis of another of another stela of Iykhernofret’s from Abydos (Berlin 1204) that includes the titulary of Sesostriis III (Lichtheim 1975 pp. 123-5 and Sethe 1928 pp. 70-71).

hry-tp n(y) t3 r-dr.f
imy-r3 h3swt nbwt
hr[y-pr] r(3)-prw štipty nt(y)t.s im.s(n)
imy-r3 prwy-nbw imy-r3 prwy-hd
imy-r3 bw r(3)-nyswt
hm-ntr wrt hk3w
hry sšt3 n(y) W3dty
imy-r3 htmty Ty-hr-nfret m3c-hrw
nb im3h

(O) those who (still) live on earth,
 any person, any lector priest, any scribe,
 who shall pass by this offering chapel (of mine)!

As you desire to establish this temple of Osiris,
 foremost-of-the-westerners, the lord of Abydos,
 the great god who resides in the west and as
 you love Wepwawet the lord of (this) sacred land,
 and Anubis the lovable god,⁹ and
 as you love the king's life.

May you remember life and forget death,
 may you perform festivals for you (local) gods,
 may you say 1000 bread, beer, beef, fowl, incense,
 and oil for the *k3* of the royal seal-bearer,
 select companion, overseer of all matters for the king,
 having authority over the entire land,¹⁰
 overseer of all foreign desert-lands,¹¹
 majordomo of temples¹² and inspector of what is in them,
 overseer of the double gold and double silver houses,
 overseer of horned animals, royal mouthpiece,¹³
 god's servant of the one Great-of-Magic,¹⁴
 master of the secrets of the Two Ladies,¹⁵
 overseer of the treasury Iykhernofret, justified,
 possessor of veneration.

⁹ This phrase is also found on the stela of Sehepetibre (CG 20538), cf. Sethe 1928 p. 70 lines 6-7.

¹⁰ Ward 1982 p. 127 (no. 1084) glosses as "chief of the entire land." See also Gardiner 1947 I p. 32*.

¹¹ Ward 1982 p. 39 (no. 39) glossed as "Overseer of All Deserts."

¹² *Ibid.* p. 117 (no. 985) glossed as "Majordomo of Chapels."

¹³ *Ibid.* p. 101 (no. 846) gives only this occurrence and glosses as "Spokesman of the King."

¹⁴ *Ibid.* p. 109 (no. 908) cites only this one instance. The feminine form of *Wrt-hk3w* likely refers to the goddess Isis, but could refer to the crown.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* p. 120 (no. 1009) glossed as "Master of Secrets of Nekhbet and Buto." The Two Ladies may very possibly be the vulture goddess Nekhbet of Hierakonpolis and the snake goddess Wadjet of Buto, representing Upper and Lower Egypt.

MK.4

NAME: IPI,¹⁶ Butler of the meat-pantry
 LOCATION: Liverpool Free Public Museum M 13846
 DATE: Dynasty 13¹⁷

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gardiner and Sethe 1928 p. 10 & p. 28.

TEXT MK.4: Gardiner and Sethe 1928 pl. XI.
 Horizontal lines 2-7 at top of stela.

dd.sn
i ʿnhw tp(y)w-t3
wʿb nb hry-hb nb sš nb
sw3.t(y).sn hr ʿb3.(i) pn
m hd m hsf

dd.ty.f(y) h3 m t(i) hnkt
n k3 n(y) wdpw n(y) ʿt iwʿf
Ipy m3ʿ-hrw

iw.i n.tn r sšmw nd-hr
sw3d.(i) ʿnh.tn tp t3
it hr srs n(y) h3yw

ir tmt.ty.f(y) it hft nn
spr.(i) hr.f m mty
m sbht n(y) wdʿ
k3 dl.tn sh3.i nn smh.i

They said:

O those who (still) live on earth,
 every pure one, every lector priest and every scribe,
 who shall pass by this offering stone (of mine),
 (either) traveling downstream or upstream!

He shall say 1000 bread and beer
 for the *k3* of the butler of the meat pantry¹⁸
 Ipy justified.

I will be for you a protective image.
 I will make prosperous your life on earth,
 the father taking command of the family.

¹⁶ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 22:24.

¹⁷ Franke 1984 p. 77 (dossier no. 68).

¹⁸ Ward 1982 p. 91 (no. 757).

As for one who shall not act according to these things,
I will make a petition concerning him
as a witness at the gate of judgement.
So you will cause that I am remembered and
that I will not be forgotten.

MK.5

NAME: IMYHAT, Overseer of seal-bearers
LOCATION: Abydos, stela Leiden V2
DATE: Dynasty 12, year 9 of Sesostri I

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Boeser 1905 II p. 4 (no. 7).
Lichtheim 1992 pp. 162-4.
Obsomer 1995 pp. 534-5.

TEXT MK.5: Boeser 1905 II pl. vi.
Horizontal lines 6-11 on stela.

dd.f
i ʿnhw tpyw-t3
wnn.t(y).sn m šms n(y) Wsir
hnty-imntyw n(y) Wp-w3wt
Inpw nb t3-dsr
hmw-ntr nb wʿbw nb
hmwt-ntr
hsw hswt hnww hnwwt
rmṯ nbt n(y)w t3-wr 3bdw

rn.(i) pw nfr sh3w.tn
m r3-pr pn dd.tn
h3 m t(i) hnkt k3w 3pdw šs mnht
ht nb(t) wʿbt ʿnht ntr im(w)
n k3 n(y) im3h imy-r3 htntyw
(T)m(y)-h3t

He says:

O those who (still) live on earth,
who shall be in the procession of Osiris
foremost-of-the-westerners, of Wepwawet,
and of Anubis lord of the sacred land,
all (male) god's servants, all pure ones,
and (all female) god's servants,
singers and musicians (both) male and female,
and all people of Thinite Abydos!

It is (my) good name that you should remember
in this temple when you say
1000 bread, beer, beef, fowl, alabaster (vessels), clothing,
and everything pure on which a god lives
for the *k3* of the revered one, the overseer of the seal-
bearers Imyhat.

MK.6

NAME: IPEPY, Majordomo
LOCATION: Fayum, block statue Brooklyn Museum 57.140
DATE: Dynasty 12, Ammenemes III (?)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bothmer 1959 (reprinted in Bothmer 2004).

TEXT MK.6: Bothmer 2004 p. 85 (fig. 6.2)
Eight columns of inscription on base.

ir hr nb n(y) rmtw m33.ty.sn hnty.(i) pn
dd.tn htp-di-nsw n
hr(y)-pr Ippi ir(w) Kky m3c-hrw

mrr.tn ntrw.tn niwtyw
di.tn hr n(y) hnw.tn
thwt n(y)t dsw.tn dd hr.sn
n k3 n(y) Ipp m3c-hrw
db3 n.tn st ntrw.tn
r dit dd.tn

htp-di-nsw Sbk Šdty
Hr hry-ib Šdt
di.f prt-hrw
t(i) hnkt k3w 3pdw
sntr mrht šs mnht
ht nb(t) nfrt w'bt 'nh ntr imw
n k3w n(y) hr(y)-pr Ippi

As for all the people who shall see this statue (of mine)!
May you say a *htp-di-nsw* (prayer) for the
Majordomo Ipepy, born of Kkey justified.

As you love your local gods,
so should you (me) give a portion from your jars.
The contents¹⁹ of your jars – speak over them

¹⁹ Since *thwt* literally means “drunkenness” (CDME p. 301), these contents are thought of as beer or other alcoholic beverages.

for the *k3* of Ipep justified.
Your (local) gods will make repayment to you
by causing that you are stable.

A *htp-di-nsw* (prayer) of Sobek (the deity) of
Crocodylopolis (in the Fayum) and of
Horus who (also) resides in Crocodylopolis,
that he may give an invocation offering
(consisting of) bread, beer, beef, fowl,
incense, ointment, alabaster (vessels), clothing,
and everything good and pure on which a god lives
for the *k3* of the Majordomo Ipepi.

MK.7

NAME: AMENEMHAT,²⁰ Chamberlain
LOCATION: Abydos, stela CG 20497
DATE: Dynasty 12 (late)²¹

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Lange and Schäfer 1908 (CGC v.36) pp. 88-9.

TEXT MK.7: Lange and Schäfer 1908 (CGC v.36) p. 89.
Two horizontal lines under representation.

i srw imyw 3bdw
wnwt hwt-ntr mi kd.s

mr tn Wp-w3wt ntr.tn bnr mrwt
dd.tn htp-di-nsw
h3 m t(i) hnkt k3w 3pdw
šs mnht sntr mrht
n k3 n(y) imy-r3 hnty Imn-m-h3t ir(w) n(y) Twci

O nobles who are in Abydos and
the entire priestly staff of the temple!

As Wepwawet, your lovable god, loves you,
may you say a *htp-di-nsw* (prayer)
(consisting of) 1000 bread, beer, beef, fowl,
alabaster (vessels), clothing, incense, and ointment
for the *k3* of the Chamberlain Amenemhat, born of Yuwai.

²⁰ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 28:8.

²¹ Franke 1984 p. 81 (dossier 77), with CG 20497 placed at the end of the 12th Dynasty.

MK.8

NAME: AMENEMHAT, Overseer of goats
 LOCATION: Abydos, stela Hanover Kestner Museum 2927
 DATE: Dynasty 12, year 12 of Ammenemes II

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Cramer 1936 pp. 85-6.
 Drenkhahn 1989 pp. 72-4 (no. 21).
 Verhoeven 1998 p. 487.

TEXT MK.8: Drenkhahn 1989 p. 73 (photo) & Verhoeven 1998 fig. 115.
 Final 2-3 horizontal lines of stela text.

*i ʕnhw tp(yw)-t3
 sw3.t(y).sn hr wʕbt.(i) tn*

*dd.tn h3 t(i) hnkt hr wdhw
 n(y) hnty-imntyw nb 3bdw
 n im3h imy-r3 ʕwt Imn-m-h3t m3ʕ-hrw
 nb im3h hmt.f
 mr(y) n(y) st-ib.f Km m3ʕt-hrw*

O those who (still) live on earth,
 who shall pass by this offering table (of mine)!

May you say 1000 bread and beer at the offering table
 of the foremost-of-westerners, the lord of Abydos
 for the revered overseer of goats Amenemhat justified,
 possessor of veneration and for his wife,
 beloved of his affection Kem, justified.

MK.9

NAME: AMENEMHAT, Prince of the Hare nome
 LOCATION: Hatnub graffito no. 49
 DATE: Dynasty 12, Sesostri I, 31st year

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Anthes 1928 pp. 76-77.
 Gardiner 1957 p. 175.
 Griffith and Newberry 1894 II pp. 53-4 (Graffito X).
 Morschauser 1987 pp. 106 and 260.
 Nordh 1996 p. 4.
 Obsomer 1995 pp. 583-4.
 Simpson 1958 p. 301.

TEXT MK.9: Anthes 1928 pp. 76-77 and pl. 31.
 Vertical lines 10-12 at end of graffito.

*ir ḥmty nb skd nb rmtw nbt
 ʃl.t(y).sn ʕ.sn n twt pn
 in ʕnty ḥs.f sw*

*ir grt ḥdt.f rn.i ḥr twt
 in ntrw nyw Wnt
 ḥsf.sn ḥrdw.f m iʒt.f m-sʒ mwt.f*

As for any craftsman, any traveller and any people,
 who shall lift up their arm to this image,
 it is Anty²² who shall favour him.

Now as for he who should harm my name on the image,
 it is the gods of the Hare nome who shall
 drive away his children from his position after his death.

MK.10

NAME: AMENY, Chamberlain of the vizier's office
 LOCATION: Abydos North, stela Geneva D50
 DATE: Dynasty 12, Sesostri III²³

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Leprohon 1978 p. 35.
 Maspero 1898 v.3 pp. 211-5.
 Schlögel 1978 p. 48 (no. 154)
 Simpson 1974 p. 17 (ANOC 1.9) & pl. 4.

TEXT MK.10: Schlögel 1978 ill. 154.
 Seven horizontal lines in lunette of stela.

*dd.f
 i ʕnhw tpyw-tʒ
 ḥmw-ntr ḥryw-ḥb wʕbw sʕw
 swʒ.t(y).sn ḥr mʕhʕt.(i) tn*

*m mr.tn grg ḥwt-ntr n(y)t
 Wsir ḥnty-imntyw nb ʒbdw
 dd.tn ḥtp-di-nsw Wsir
 ḥnty-imntyw Inpw nb ʒbdw
 di.f prt-ḥrw
 t(i) ḥnkt kʒw ʒpdw sntrw mrht mnht
 ht nb(t) nfr(t) wʕb(t) ʕnhṯ ntr im(w)*

²² Literally "the claw," a local hawk god of 18th Upper Egyptian nome.

²³ Franke 1984 p. 93 (dossier 94) dated to year 19 of Sesostri III.

*dd.t(w) pt km3.t(w) t3 n k3 n(y)
 imy-r3 'h_nwty n(y) h3 n(y) t3ty Imny
 ir(w).n S3t-Imny m3^c-hrw*

He says:

O those who (still) live on earth,
 god's servants, lector priests, pure ones and scribes
 who shall pass by this tomb chapel (of mine)!

As you desire to provide for the temple of
 Osiris foremost-of-the-westerners, lord of Abydos,
 may you say a *h_{tp}-di-nsw* (prayer) for Osiris
 foremost-of-the-westerners, and Anubis lord of Abydos.
 May you (also) give an invocation offering (consisting of)
 bread, beer, beef, fowl, incense, oil, cloth, and
 everything good and pure on which a god lives.

It is for the *k3* of the Chamberlain of the office
 of the vizier Ameny, whom Sat-Ameny justified bore,
 that heaven was positioned and the earth was created.

MK.11

NAME:

AMENY

LOCATION:

Saqqara, funerary temple of Pepi II
 Block statue JE 51481

DATE:

Dynasty 12 (late)

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Bothmer 1960-62 p. 30 (no. 16).
 Schulz 1992 p. 314.
 Jèquier 1940 p. 32.

TEXT MK.11:

Jèquier 1940 p. 32. Four vertical lines on front of
 block statue, continued on base.

*mrr ntr pn pw ...
 hry-hb nb
 w^cb nb n[y hwt-ntr tn]
 ...yt dd.tn r^c nb m ...
 twt pn n k3 n(y) ...
 h_{tp}-di-nsw Wsir nb Ddw*

*di.fprt-hrw
 t(i) hnkt k3w 'pdw šs mnht*

ht (nfrt) n im3h ntr ʕ3
Imny ms(w).n S3t-kd m3ʕ-hrw

... every lector priest and
 every pure one (of this temple)
 is one whom this god loves.
 ... May you speak every day in (front of)
 this statue for the *k3* of ...
 a *htp-di-nsw* (prayer) to Osiris, lord of Busiris.

May he give an invocation offering (consisting of)
 bread, beer, beef, fowl, alabaster (vessels), clothing, and
 everything (good) to the one whom the great god reveres
 Ameny, borne of Satqed justified.

MK.12

NAME:

AMENYANKHREN, Hall keeper

LOCATION:

Abydos, stela CG 20458

DATE:

Dynasty 12 (late) or Dynasty 13

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Gardiner-Sethe 1928 p. 10.
 Lange and Schäfer 1908 (CGC v.36) II pp. 56-58.
 Nordh 1996 pp. 161-2.
 Simpson 1974 p. 18 (ANOC 24.1) & pl. 36.
 Sottas 1913 pp. 44-45.

TEXT MK.12:

Lange and Schäfer 1908 (CGC v.36) II pp. 56-58.
 Sethe 1928 p. 87 (no. 28b). Four vertical lines on
 right hand side of stela written in cursive script.

dd.f
ir wʕb nb hry-hb nb
sw3.t(y).f(y) ʕhʕ.i pn
m hd m hsfyt

mrr tn n(y)-swt.tn
hs tn ntrw.tn
sbi.tn r im3h m-m im3hw
dd.tn htp-(di)-nsw (n)
iry-ʕt Imny-ʕnh-rn ir(w).n Hyt

ir grt s(i) nb ir.t(y).f(y) d3yt
r-r ʕhʕ.i pn
wnn.i wdʕ.kw hnʕ.f
m bw nty wdʕ-mdw im(w)

He says:

As for any pure one, any lector priest,
who shall pass by this stela of mine,
either going downstream or upstream!

As your king loves you and
as your (local) gods favour you,
so will you attain a revered status among the revered.
May you say a *hṯp-di-nsw* (prayer for)
the hall keeper Amenyankhren, born of Khuvt.

As for any man who shall do damage
against this stela of mine,
I will be judged together with him
in the place in which judgment is held.

MK.13

NAME:

INTEF²⁴

LOCATION:

Abydos, stela Leiden V6

DATE:

Dynasty 12, Ammenemes II²⁵

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Boeser 1905 II no. 4 & pl. iii.
Lichtheim 1992 pp. 164-5.

TEXT MK.13:

Boeser 1905 II pl. iii.
Horizontal lines 1-2 under cornice of stela.

i ʿnhw tpyw-t3
mrrw ʿnh msw.sn

hss tn ntr.tn niwty
dd.tn h3 t(i) hnkṯ
h3 k3w 3pdw
n im3hy'Intf

O those (still) living on earth,
who desire that their children live!

Your local god will favour you,
as you say 1000 bread and beer,
and 1000 beef and fowl
for the revered one Intef.

²⁴ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 34:1.

²⁵ Dated by Franke 1984 p. 116 (dossier no. 141) on the basis of CG 20531 (ANOC 23).

MK.14

NAME: ANTEF, Chamberlain and controller of works
 LOCATION: Aswan, Sehel graffito no. 76
 DATE: Dynasty 12, Sesostri III

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Habachi 1953 pp. 50-59.
 Vernus 1976 p. 140 (no. 6).

TEXT MK.14: Habachi 1953 fig. 1. A horizontal line with titles followed by eleven vertical lines of text.

dd.f
i w^cb nb sš nb n(y) r(3)-pr pn
ir.t(y).fy hst ntr.f
mr.t(y).fy mn mnw nyw ntrw
imyw niwt.sn
ir.t(y).fy htp.f m i3t.f
sw3d.t(y).fy n s3.f
s3w ht.f m-ht i3w
ib.f htp(w) m n^ch nn dwt nbt
k^ch.t(y) drt.f
r^c nb hb m Stt
dm.t(y).fy rn.i

3h st n irr st r irrw n.f st
n wrd.n.tw hr.s
t3w pw m r(3)

nn bin.i r rmtt n(y)t 3bw
ir st m3^c r^c nb ib.f hr-tp.(i)
n^ch.tn n.i hs tn hr pn nfr
m sh hrw.tn r nt(y) tp r(3.i)

He says:

O all pure ones and all scribes of this temple,
 who shall do that which its god praises,
 who shall desire that the monuments of the gods
 who are in their towns should endure,
 who shall achieve his satisfaction in his office,
 who shall bequeath (this office) to his son,
 who has taken care of his possessions after old age,
 his mind being at peace with life without (anything) evil!
 He it is who shall bend his hand
 every day of the festival in Sehel
 and who shall pronounce my name.

It is more beneficial for whoever does it
than for him to whom it is done.
One cannot become weary because of it,
for it is (but) breath in the mouth.

I have done no wrong to the people of Elephantine.
He who does it right every day, his heart is on (my) behalf.
As you live for me, my kindly countenance favours you,
(but) be not neglectful of that which is on (my) speech.

MK.15

NAME:

LOCATION:

DATE:

ITI,²⁶ One-who-lives-at-the-ruler's-table
Dahshur valley temple of Sneferu, statue pedestal
Dynasty 12 (late) or Dynasty 13

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Fakhry 1961 pp. 41-2.
PM III² p. 878.
Vernus 1976 p. 140 (no. 8).

TEXT MK.15:

Fakhry 1961 p. 42 (fig. 340A).
Seven horizontal lines atop of statue pedestal.

*i ... [w^c]b nb hry-hbt nb
hm-k3 nb sš nb
k.(ty).sn r3-pr pn
m33.t(y).sn twt.(i) pn*

*mrr.tn nh (Snfrw)|
Hr nb m3^ct
hs tn n(y)-swt rk.tn
r(w)d rnpwt.tn m nh
sw3d.tn i3wt.tn n hrdw.tn
dd.tn htp-di-nsw
h3 m t(i) hnt k3w 3pdw sntrw mrhwt
ht nbt nfrt w^cbt nh im(w)
n k3 n(y) nh(w) n tt hk3
Iti ir(w).n Krhi m3^c-hrw nb im3h*

*t3w n(y) r3 3h(w) (n) s^ch
nn nw m wrd hr.s*

²⁶ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 49:15.

O ... every pure one, every lector priest,
every *k3*-priest and every scribe,
who shall enter this temple and
who shall see this statue (of mine)!

As you desire that Sneferu,
the Horus, possessor of *ma^cat*, should live,
that the king of your time should favour you,
that your years should flourish in life and
that you should bequeath your offices to your children,
so should you say a *htp-di-nsw* (prayer) of
1000 bread, beer, beef, fowl, incense, oil, and
everything good and pure on which a god lives
for the *k3* of the One-who-lives-at-the-ruler's-table²⁷
Iti, born of Kerehi the justified and revered.

The breath of the mouth is beneficial to the blessed dead,
(but) there is no weariness because of it
(i.e. from reading the prayer).

MK.16

NAME: ANKHREN,²⁸ Steward of reckoning barley
LOCATION: Attributed to Abydos, stela Oxford (Queen's College) 1113
DATE: Dynasty 13²⁹

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Smither and Dakin 1939 pp. 163-5 (no.4).

TEXT MK.16: Smither and Dakin 1939 pl. 21.4.
Eight short vertical columns at bottom of stela.

i ʿnhw tp(yw)-t3
sšw nb hryw-hb nb w^cb nb
šd.t(y).fy wd.(i) pn

m mr.tn ḥs n.tn³⁰ ntrw.tn niwtwy
mi dd.tn htp-di-nsw
Wsir nb ʿnh-t3wy n(y)-swt dt
n k3 n(y) imy-r3 pr ḥsb it
ʿnh-rn m3^c-hrw

²⁷ Ward 1982 p. 75 (no. 611) meaning a member of the ruler's household who eats at his table.

²⁸ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 65:20.

²⁹ Franke 1984 p. 143 (dossier 186).

³⁰ The *n* after *ḥs* is probably for the book roll (Smither and Dakin 1939 p. 164 n.9).

O those who (still) live on earth
every scribe, every lector priest, every pure one,
who shall read aloud this stela (of mine)!

As you desire that your local gods should favour you,
in the like manner you should say a *hṭp-di-nsw* (prayer)
to Osiris, lord of *ʿnh-t3wy* (Memphis), king of eternity
for the *k3* of the Steward of reckoning barley³¹
Ankhren justified.

MK.17

NAME: ANKHRENI, Governor of Lower Egypt
LOCATION: Sinai (Serabit el-Khadim) inscription no. 114
DATE: Dynasty 12, Ammenemes III, year 18?³²

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Černý 1955 pp. 116-8.
Leprohon 1980 pp. 37-8.
Seyfried 1981 pp. 177-9 & 235-6.

TEXT MK.17: Gardiner and Peet 1952 pl. 38.
Horizontal lines 3-8 on west face of stela.

i ʿnhw tpyw-t3
srw nysw smrw ʿh
iw.ty.sn r h3st tn

imi i3w m sk3t b3w nyswt
dw3 [ny-swt]
m33 hprt n.f
ḏww hr sšmt r ntt im.s(n)³³...

O those who (still) live on earth,
royal officials, friends of the palace,
who shall come to this desert hill country!

³¹ Ward 1982 p. 25 (no. 161).

³² Year date is based on Sinai no. 115 since the official Renfanup appears in both inscriptions.

See also Franke 1984 dossier no. 187.

³³ The rest of the inscription is erased and replaced by a later scene with an image of Ptah of Memphis "south of his wall." The last sign looks like the mace (Gardiner T3). The end of this Appeal may then have originally followed the phrase found in Sinai 53 after *dw3 ny-swt m33 hprt n.f ḏww hr sšmt ntt im*, namely *shḏ.sn imnt imywt.sn*, translated as "they illuminate that which is hidden amongst them." In this case the last "s" would not be a suffix pronoun; rather than ending with a preposition and object, the last currently preserved sentence would end with an adverb "therein."

Give adoration in extolling the king's power,
and praise [the king]!
See what has occurred for him!
The mountains show the way to that which is in them...

MK.18

NAME:

ANKHU, Steward

LOCATION:

Saqqara, mortuary temple of Unas

Block statue Saqqara Magazin no. 16896

DATE:

Dynasty 12 or 13

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Schulz 1992 p. 501.

Moussa 1984 pp. 50-51.

TEXT MK.18:

Moussa 1984 p. 51b.

Four vertical lines on back of block statue.

[i ʕnh]w tpyw-t3
sw3.ty.s[n hr twt.i] pn
m hd m hsfwt

m mrr.tn ...
dd.tn h3 [ti hnkt]
n imy-r3 pr ʕnhw m3ʕ-hrw

[O those who still live] on earth,
who shall pass by this [statue of mine],
either traveling downstream or upstream!

As you love [your king/local god]
so may you say 1000 [bread and beer]
for the steward Ankhu, justified.

MK.19

NAME:

ANKHU, Pure one

LOCATION:

Dahshur valley temple of Sneferu, pair statue

DATE:

Dynasty 12, Ammenemes I to Sesostri I

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Bothmer 1960-62 p. 33 (no. 20).

Fakhry 1961 pp. 19-20.

PM III p. 879.

Schulz 1992 pp. 128-9.

Wildung 1969 p. 119.

TEXT MK.19:

Fakhry 1961 p. 20 (fig. 295).
Two vertical lines of inscription on left of seat.

[*mr*]*r* (*Snfrw*) | *Hr nb m3^ct pw*
[*hry-hb?*] *nb hmw-ntr nb n(y) r3-pr*
dd.t(y).fy h3 t(i) hnkt k3w 3pdw
n w^cb n(y) ntrw(?) n^chw
ir(w).n Hwt-hr-itty m3^c-hrw

Every [lector priest?], every god's servant of the temple,
who shall say 1000 bread, beer, beef, and fowl
for the pure one of the gods Ankhu,
born of Hathor-iity justified,
is one whom Sneferu, Horus the possessor of
ma^cat [loves].

MK.20

NAME:

WAHYSOBEK

LOCATION:

Abydos North, stela CG 20164

DATE:

Dynasty 12 or 13

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Lange and Schäfer 1902 (CGC v.5) pp. 195-6.
Müller 1972 col. 295.

TEXT MK.20:

Lange and Schäfer 1902 (CGC v.5) p. 195.
Two horizontal lines across stela cornice.

i n^chw tp(yw)-t3
sš nb rmtw nbt
sw3.t(y).sn hr b3.(i) pn

mr.tn hs tn ntrw.tn
dd.tn t3w n(y) n^ch
r fnd n(y) W3hy- Sbk whm n^ch

O those who (still) live on earth,
any scribe and any person
who shall pass by this offering stone (of mine)!

As you desire that your (local) gods should favour you,
so should you say "the breath of life"
to the nose of Wahysobek, living again.

MK.21

NAME: WAHKA³⁴ I, Count
 LOCATION: Qaw el-Kebir, stela Turin 1547
 DATE: Dynasty 12, Sesostri III and Ammenemes III³⁵

BIBLIOGRAPHY: D'Amicone 1990 p. 30 (fig. 4.2).
 Lichtheim 1992 p. 170.
 Maspero 1882 p. 123 (pl. XVII).
 PM V p. 11.
 Steckeweh and Steindorff 1936 p. 47.

TEXT MK.21: Steckeweh and Steindorff 1936 pl. 17a.
 Horizontal lines 3-7 in lower part of stela.

dd.f
ind-hr.k Wsir hnty-imntyw
wn.i m šms.k hnty im3hw
rdi.tw n.i prt-hrw
t(i) hnt k3w 3pdw hr h3wt
n(y)t Wnn-nfr ntr 3 nb 3bdw
Wp-w3wt nb t3-dsr

m mr.tn hs tn ntrw.tn niwtyw
sw3.t(y).fy nb hr wd pn
mi dd.tn htp-di-nsw
Inpw nb t3 dsr
n k3 n(y) h3ty-ꜥ imy-r3 hmw-ntr
W3hk3 m3ꜥ-hrw

He says:

Greetings Osiris foremost-of-the-westerners!
 May I be in your retinue, foremost of the revered ones.
 May there be given to me an invocation offering
 of bread, beer, beef, and fowl from the altar
 of Onnophoris, the great god, lord of Abydos
 and of Wepwawet, lord of the sacred land.

As you desire that your local gods favour you,
 (namely) anyone who shall pass by this stela,
 likewise you should say a *htp-di-nsw* (prayer)
 to Anubis lord of the sacred land
 for the *k3* of the *h3ty-ꜥ*, overseer of god's servants,
 Wahka justified.

³⁴ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 73:23.

³⁵ Franke 1984 p. 150 (dossier no. 199).

MK.22

NAME: WEPWAWET³⁶ senior, *h3ty-^c*
 LOCATION: Abydos, stela Munich GL.WAF 35
 DATE: Dynasty 12, Ammenemes II³⁷

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Barta 1987 pp. 63-76.
 Lichtheim 1988 pp. 77-80.
 Obsomer 1995 pp. 563-7.
 Simpson 1974 p. 18 (ANOC 20.2) & pl. 30.
 Spiegelberg and Pörtner 1902-06 v.2 pl. II (no. 3).

TEXT MK.22:

Sethe 1928 pp. 73f. (no. 15b).
 Horizontal lines 7-10 on stela.

dd.f
i h3tyw-^c shdw hmw-ntr
imyw hnwt d3 sšmw³⁸

dd.tn h3 t(i) hnkt k3w 3pdw
šs mnht r r(3)-pr n(y)
R^c hnty-m3^ctyw
Wp-w3wt šw Tfnt Dhwtj Hnmw
Skr hmn Gb Nwt Mnw In-hrt Imn
Pth Hmy Hr rsy mhty
Wngyt psdt Nt hkt Hwt-hr
Inpw 3st Nbt-hwt Sbyt
n k3 n(y) h3ty-^c im(y)-r(3) hmw-ntr
Wp-w3wt-^c3 imy-hnt ^c3 m 3bdw
hnty i3wt m hwt-ntr
nfr m hrw m pr nb.f
iwn w^c sb3 sšm m3^c
sft m hwt-ntr m hrt hrw n(y)t r^c nb
imy-r3 hmw-ntr Wp-w3wt-^c3w

He says:

O *h3ty-^c*s, inspectors of god's servants,
 chamberlains and *d3*-priests of the *sšmw* girdles!

May you say 1000 bread, beer, beef, fowl,
 alabaster (vessels), and clothing for the temple(s)
 of Ra, foremost-of-the-righteous and of
 Wepwawet, Shu, Tefnut, Thoth, Khnum,
 Sokar, Hemen, Geb, Nut, Min, Onuris, Amun,

³⁶ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 77:17.

³⁷ There is a year date, but it is unclear. Simpson (1964 p. 27) suggests "23 or 26." Lichtheim (1988 p. 79) suggests 13.

³⁸ See discussion on . 59 n. 77

Ptah, Khemy, Horus (both) southern and northern,
 Wengyt, the Ennead, Neith, Heket, Hathor,
 Anubis, Isis, Nephthys, and Sebyt³⁹
 for the *k3* of the *h3ty-ꜥ*, overseer of god's prophets,
 Wepwawet senior, great chamberlain of Abydos,
 foremost of the offices in the temple,⁴⁰
 excellent of duties in the house of his lord,
 select pillar, teacher of true conduct,
 who makes sacrifice in the temple in the course of every
 day, the overseer of god's servants Wepwawet senior.⁴¹

MK.23

NAME:

WENEMTY-KHEPER-KA-RA

LOCATION:

No provenience, stela CG 20401

DATE:

Dynasty 12 or 13

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Lange and Schäfer 1908 (CGC v.36) pp. 2-4.

TEXT MK.23:

Lange and Schäfer 1908 (CGC v.36) p. 3.
 Three horizontal lines under eyes at top of stela.

i ʿnhw tpyw-t3
sw3.t(y).sn hr mʿhʿt.(i) tn
hry-hb nb hm-ntr nb
wʿb nb sš nb rmtw nbt

mrr tn Wp-w3(wt) ntr.tn bnr mrwt
dd.tn htp-di-nsw ...

O those who (still) live on earth,
 who shall pass by this offering chapel (of mine),
 every lector priest, every god's servant,
 every pure one, every scribe, every person!

Inasmuch as you love Wepwawet, your loveable god,
 may you say a *htp-di-nsw* (prayer) ...

³⁹ With minor variations, this list of deities also appears on stelae Louvre C15 and Turin 107, see Spiegel 1973 p. 99.

⁴⁰ Doxey (1998 p. 355) lists only this example, although there are many epithets beginning with *hnty*.

⁴¹ The "Abydos Formula" (11 of the first 12 wishes) in the 12th Dynasty version follows at this point in the text. See Lichtheim (1988 p. 79 n.4) for this text and pp. 86-87 for the full formula.

MK.24

NAME: USERWER, Sculptor
 LOCATION: Attributed to Abydos, BM 579 (no. 129)
 DATE: Dynasty 12

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bourriau 1988 pp. 29-31 (no. 20).
 Robins 1997 p. 103 (ill. 111).
 Russmann 1999 p. 99 (no. 27).

TEXT MK.24: British Museum 1912 pl. 14.
 Horizontal lines 3-5 in upper part of stela.

... *dd i ʿnhw tpyw-t3*
sw3.t(y).sn hr mʿhʿt.(i) tn

m mrr.tn hss tn ntrw.tn
dd.tn h3 t(i) hnkt
h3 k3w 3pdw h3 ss mnht
h3 hpt df(3w)
prt (m)-b3h Wsir

... who says: O those who (still) live on earth,
 who shall pass by this offering chapel (of mine)!

As much as you desire that
 your (local) gods should favour you,
 so should you say 1000 bread and beer,
 1000 beef and fowl, 1000 alabaster (vessels) and clothing,
 and 1000 of the offerings and the provisions
 which have come (from) in front of Osiris.

MK.25

NAME: BUREKHEF, Magnate of the southern tens
 LOCATION: Abydos North, stela CG 20540
 DATE: Dynasty 13⁴²

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Lange and Schäfer 1908 (CGC v.36) pp. 158-9.
 el-Rabiʿi 1977 p. 20.

TEXT MK.25: Lange and Schäfer 1908 (CGC v.36) p. 158.
 Six horizontal lines in second section of stela from top.

⁴² Franke 1984 p. 160 (dossier no. 220).

*i ʿnhw tp(y)w-tʒ
 hryw-hb nb sšw nb iʒwt nbt
 rmtw nbt šd.ty.sn ... sn*

*m mri.tn hs tn Pth
 mrw tn ntrw.tn niwtyw
 swʒd.tn iʒwt.tn n hrđw.tn
 hr hst n(y)-swt dt*

*dd.tn htp-di-nsw
 Wsir hnty-imntyw
 ntr ʿʒ nb ʒbdw
 di.f prt-hrw t(i) hnkt
 kʒw ʒpdw šs mnht rnpwt
 ht nbt nfrt wʿbt
 ddt pt kmʒ tʒ
 innt Hʿpy ʿnht ntr im(w)*

*tʒw ndm n(y) ʿnh n kʒ n(y)
 wr mdw šmʿw B(w)-rh.f
 ms(w).n nbt-pr Sbkt mʒʿt-hrw*

O those who (still) live on earth,
 all lector priests, all scribes, all officials,
 and all people who shall read aloud their ...

As you desire that Ptah should favour you,
 and that you local gods should love you
 and that you may pass on your offices to your children
 with the king's favour forever.

So you should say a *htp-di-nsw* (prayer)
 to Osiris foremost-of-the-westerners,
 the great god, lord of Abydos, that
 he may give an invocation offering of bread, beer,
 beef, fowl, alabaster (vessels), clothing, herbs,
 and everything good and pure that
 heaven provides, earth creates, and the
 Nile brings (forth), on which a god lives.

The sweet breath of life for the *kʒ* of the
 Magnate of the southern tens⁴³ Burekhef,
 born of the Mistress of the House Sebeket, justified.

⁴³ Ward 1982 p. 87 (no. 721).

MK.26

NAME: PTAHWER⁴⁴
 LOCATION: Abydos, stela CG 20061
 DATE: Dynasty 12 or 13

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Lange and Schäfer 1902 (CGC v.5) p. 75.
 Lichtheim 1992 p. 166.

TEXT MK.26: Lange and Schäfer 1902 (CGC v.5) p. 75.
 Sethe 1928 p. 87 (no. 28e).
 Last two horizontal lines across top of stela.

mrr(w) ntr.f niwty n(y)-swt imy h3w.f
sw3.t(y).f(y) hr ʿb3.(i) pn
ḏd.t(y).f(y) h3 t(i) hnkt k3w 3pdw
n im3h im(y)-r(3) hmty Pth-wr m3ʿ-hrw

Beloved of his local god and of the reigning king
 is the one who shall pass by this stela (of mine) and
 the one who will say 1000 bread, beer, beef, and fowl
 for the revered one, the chief treasurer⁴⁵ Ptahwer, justified.

MK.27

NAME: FAJHEDJWY
 LOCATION: Dahshur valley temple of Sneferu, block statue
 DATE: Dynasty 12, Ammenemes I⁴⁶

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bothmer 1960-62 p. 32 (no. 18).
 Fakhry 1961 pp. 15-16.
 PM III p. 878.
 Schulz 1992 p. 126.
 Wildung 1969 p. 120.

TEXT MK.27: Fakhry 1961 p. 16 (fig. 290)
 Three incomplete vertical lines on back pillar.

[mrr Snfrw] ... pw
hry-hb nb wʿb nb hnty-š nb
rmṯw nb ʿk.ty.sn r hwt-ntr ...

⁴⁴ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 139:6.

⁴⁵ Ward 1982 p. 47 (no. 364) glossed as "Overseer of the Treasury," but see CDME p. 258.

⁴⁶ Franke 1984 p. 174 (no. 24).

(*Snfrw*)| *s3h Wsir nb ʿnh*
imy-r3 hwt-ntr hry-hb ...
F3i-hdtw m3^c-hrw
ir(w).n Snfrw-m-s3-si nbt im3h

Every lector priest, every pure one, every attendant,
 and every person who shall enter (this) temple is
 [one whom Sneferu loves] ...

... Sneferu who glorifies Osiris, the possessor of life,
 overseer of the temple, lector priest ...
 Fajhedjwy justified,
 born of Sneferu-em-sa-si, possessor of veneration.

MK.28

NAME:

MUTWER, Doorkeeper

LOCATION:

Aswan, Elephantine sanctuary of Heqaib stela

DATE:

Dynasty 13, Neferhotep I

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Habachi 1985 pp. 71-74 (no. 46).

TEXT MK.28:

Habachi 1985 p. 72 (fig. 8) & pl. 122.
 Horizontal line across top of cornice.

i ʿnhw
hry-hb nb hm-k3 nb

hs tn Stynt nbt 3bw
dd htp-di-nsw
n k3 n(y) iry-ʿ3 Mwt-wr m3^c-hrw

O those who are (still) alive,
 every lector priest and every *k3*-priest!

(As) Satet, mistress of Elephantine favours you,
 say a *htp-di-nsw* (prayer)
 for the *k3* of the doorkeeper Mutwer, justified.

MK.29

NAME: MINNEFER,⁴⁷ Chamberlain
 LOCATION: Abydos, stela BM 152 (no. 829)
 DATE: Dynasty 12, Ammenemes II, year 29

BIBLIOGRAPHY: HT IV p. 6 and pl. 15.
 Robins 1997 p. 103 and fig. 10.
 Russmann 1999 p. 98 (no. 26).

TEXT MK.29: HT IV pl. 5.
 Horizontal lines 4-5 at top of stela.

dd.f
i ʿnhw tpyw-t3 hmw-ntr hmwt-ntr
wʿbw nyw r3-pr pn
dd.tn h3 t(i) hnt k3w 3pdw
n im3h imy-r(3) ʿhnwty Mn-nfr

He says:
 O those who (still) live on earth,
 god's servants (both) male and female,
 pure ones of this temple!
 May you say 1000 bread, beer, beef and fowl
 for the revered one, the chamberlain Minnefer.

MK.30

NAME: MENKH-IB,⁴⁸
 Assistant sealer of the overseer of the treasury
 LOCATION: Sinai (Wadi Maghara), inscription no. 35
 DATE: Dynasty 12, Ammenemes IV, year 6

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Černý 1955 pp. 71-2.

TEXT MK.30: Gardiner & Peet 1952 pl. XI.
 Vertical lines 5-7, under two horizontal lines of inscription.

[i ʿnhw tpyw]-t3⁴⁹
iw.t(y).sn r h3st tn
dd.t(y).fy [htp-di-nsw]

⁴⁷ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 152:5.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* v. I p. 152:5.

⁴⁹ This is an emendation of the horizontal "s" sign (Gardiner O34) over a "t" (Gardiner X1) and stroke, which could also be a rendering for *smyt*, i.e. necropolis or desert (CDME p. 227).

[*n k3*] *n(y) htmw hr-^c n(y)*
imy-r(3) htmtyw [Mnh-ib]

[O those who still live on] earth,
 who shall come to this desert land,
 he⁵⁰ shall say a [*htp-di-nsw* prayer]
 [for the *k3*] of the Assistant sealer of
 the overseer of the treasury [Menkh-ib].

MK.31

NAME: MONTUWESER, Steward
 LOCATION: Abydos, stela MMA 12.184
 DATE: Dynasty 12, Sesostri I, year 17⁵¹

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hayes 1953 v.I pp. 298-300.
 Lichtheim 1988 pp. 104-5 (no. 44).
 Obsomer 1995 pp. 567-570 (no. 41).
 PM V p. 102.
 Ransom 1913 pp. 216-8.

TEXT MK.31: Sethe 1928 pp. 79-80.
 Last three vertical lines on slab stela.

ir grt rmtt nbt
s_{dm}.t(y).f(y) ^cb3.(i) pn
nt(yw) m-m ^cnhw
iw.sn r dd m3^ct pw
iw hrdw.sn r dd n hrdw
m3^ct pw nn grg⁵² im

ir grt ss nb s_d.t(y).f(y) ^cb3 pn
rmtt(t) nbt spr.(ty).sn ir.f
mrr.tn ^cnh msdd.tn mwt
mrr.tn hnty-imntyw
hs tn r r(w)d(w).f
dd.tn (h3) t(i) hntt k3w 3pdw htpw
df3w n nb ^cb3 pn

Now as for all people
 who shall hear (the recitation of) this offering stone

⁵⁰ The Appeal switches from the third person plural in the first *s_{dm}.ty.fy* form to the third person singular in the second. It is a much damaged inscription.

⁵¹ Franke 1984 p. 181 (dossier no. 258). Montuweser is also mentioned in Papyrus Reisner I (Simpson 1963 pl. 23, line 133).

⁵² Mistakenly written on the stela with an “*n*” (Gardiner N35) instead of an “*r*” (Gardiner D21).

(of mine) and who are (still) among the living,
 they will say “it is true (*mꜣꜥt*).”
 Their children will say to (their) children
 “it is true, there is no falsehood therein.”

As for any scribe who shall read aloud this offering stone,
 and all people who shall attend⁵³ to it (i.e. the reading),
 as you love life and hate death,⁵⁴
 so may the Foremost-of-the-westerners (i.e. Osiris)
 love you and favour you on his staircase (or terrace),
 should you say (1000) bread, beer, beef, fowl, offerings,
 and provisions for the owner of this offering stone.

MK.32a-b

NAME:

Two Appeals

LOCATION:

MONTUHOTEP,⁵⁵ Vizier

DATE:

Abydos, stela CG 20539
 Dynasty 12, Sesostris I⁵⁶

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Lange and Schäfer 1908 (CGC v.36) pp. 150-157.
 Lichtheim 1992 p. 35 (no. 31).
 Obsomer 1995 pp. 527-8.
 Simpson 1991 pp. 331-340.
 Sottas 1913 pp. 73-74.

TEXT MK.32a:

Lange and Schäfer 1908 (CGC v.36) pp. 153-4.
 Horizontal lines 19-23 of stela recto.

dd.f
i hꜣty-ꜥ nb i wpwt(y)-nsw nb
shm-ir.f nb smr nb n(y) pr-nsw
hꜣb(w) n(y)-swt

m mrr.f r ...
hm.f m hwt-ntr n(y)t ntr pn
m mrr.tn wꜣh tp(y)-tꜣ
hst.t(n) mn(w) m [pr]-nsw
hrdw.tn hr nswt.tn

⁵³ Following a suggestion by D.B. Redford (personal communication). Literally *spr* is to approach and could refer to a visitor approaching the offering stone or stela.

⁵⁴ The geminating form is preserved in both *mrr* and *mꜣd*, indicating a so-called emphatic form used in a clause of manner/nominalization, i.e. “the way in which you love life and hate death.”

⁵⁵ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 154:21.

⁵⁶ Franke 1984 pp. 183-4 (dossier 262) places Montuhotep in the reigns of Sesostris I and Ammenemes II.

*dd srw[d]⁵⁷.tn w(i)
m^ch^ct tn m st.s tn r-(n)hh*

*ink 3h ikr rh r3.f
iw rh 3ht m hrt-ntr
ir grt sh3.t(y).f(y) rn.i nfr
wnn.i m šdw.f
r-gs ntr ʿ3 nb pt
r-gs ntr ʿ3 nb 3bdw*

He says:

O every *h3ty-ʿ*, o every royal messenger,⁵⁸
every potentate,⁵⁹ every friend of the palace,⁶⁰
whom the king has sent!

Inasmuch as he desires to ... [praise]
His Majesty in the temple of this god,
inasmuch as you desire to endure on earth
with praise of you remaining in the palace
(and with) your children in your positions,
speak that you may perpetuate me (in)
this offering chapel in this its place forever.⁶¹

I am an excellent *3h*-spirit who knows his spell.
I know what is beneficial in the necropolis.
So if he shall remember my good name,
I will be his saviour
in the presence of the great god, the lord of heaven,
in the presence of the great god, the lord of Abydos.

TEXT MK.32b:

Lange and Schäfer 1908 (CGC v.36) p. 157.
Twelve vertical lines in middle of stela verso.

*dd.f
i h3ty-ʿ <m> nb hm-ntr ʿ3 nb
hry-hb htmty ntr
wt Inpw nb hm-ntr ʿš3 nb
mtyw n(y) s3 nb ʿnh n(y) <nb> niwt nb*

⁵⁷ *srwi* would mean “remove,” but should have the walking legs determinative (Gardiner D54).

The arm with the stick (Gardiner D40) does not fit with *srwd* either.

⁵⁸ Ward 1982 p. 65 (no. 709).

⁵⁹ Literally “powerful-is-his-action” (CDME p. 241). Doxey (1998 p. 377) cites this stela for the epithet.

⁶⁰ Ward 1982 p. 151 (no. 1302), citing only this example.

⁶¹ Allen (1999 p. 403) and Gardiner (1957 p. 267) both cite this passage as a rare example of the negative particle *w*, translating as “you/ye shall not remove this stela/tombstone from this its place forever.”

hpr.t(y).f(y) m hwt-ntr tn
sw3.t(y).sn hr m^ch^ct.(i) tn
šd.t(y).sn wd.(i) pn

m [mr]r tn Wsir hnty-[imntyw] nb 3bdw
[m] w^hm.tn irt hbw.(f)
m mrr tn [Wp-w3wt ntr] bnr mrwt
ndm.(t)n m n(y)-swt [dt r nhh]
[mr.tn] ^cnh shm.w.tn m(w)t
snb.hr hrdw.(tn) ...
[dd.tn htp-di-nsw]

He says:

O every *h3ty-^c*, every chief god's servant,
 (every) lector priest, (every) god's seal-bearer,
 every Anubis priest, every ordinary god's servant,
 every phyle chief, and every town citizen⁶²
 who shall happen (to be) in this temple,
 who shall pass by this offering chapel (of mine), and
 who shall read aloud this stela (of mine)!

As Osiris foremost-of-the-westerners,
 the lord of Abydos loves you,
 as you repeat performing his festivals,
 as [Wepwawet] your lovable [god] loves you,
 and as you rejoice in the king forever and ever,
 and as you love life and forget death,
 and as (your) children are healthy ...⁶³
 (so shall you say a *htp-di-nsw* prayer)

MK.33

NAME:

MERERU,⁶⁴ Interpreter

LOCATION:

Sinai (Rod el-^cAir) inscription no. 511

DATE:

Dynasty 12, Sesostri III⁶⁵

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Černý 1955 pp. 219-220.
 Seyfried 1981 p. 157.

⁶² See CG 20538 (Sehetepibre) for a similar list of offices. CG 20539's *^cnh n nb niwt nb* seems to be a miswriting of CG 20538's *^cnh nb n(y) niwt pn*.

⁶³ Reconstructed from CG 20538 (Sehetepibre).

⁶⁴ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 162:26.

⁶⁵ Franke 1984 p. 303 (dossier 495).

TEXT MK.33:

Gardiner and Peet 1952 pl. XCIV.
Three horizontal lines to right of figure.

mrrw ntrw.sn
phw m htp
dd.t(y).sn h3 m t(i) hnkt
h3 m ht nbt nht ntr im(w)
n im(y)-r(3) ww nhw
n ww Mrrw m3c-hrw
nb im3h

Those who love their gods and
(who desire) to reach home safely,
they shall say 1000 of bread and beer,
1000 of everything on which a god lives
for the overseer of the interpreters⁶⁶ Ankhu,
and for the interpreter Mereru justified,
possessor of veneration.

MK.34

NAME:

NEBIPU,⁶⁷ Hallkeeper of the treasury

LOCATION:

Haraga tomb 140, broken stela

DATE:

Dynasty 12 (late)⁶⁸

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Gunn 1923 p. 27.

TEXT MK.34:

Engelbach 1923 pl. LXXII.
Five incomplete horizontal lines on main part of stela.

[i nhw] tp(y)w-t3
wb nb hm-ntr nb hmw-k3 nb
sw3.t(y).sn [is pn n(y) hrt-ntr]
m hd m hnty

hs tn n(y)-swt
[mrr tn ntrw.tn niwty]
[sw3d].tn i3wt.tn n hrdw.(tn) ...

[O those who still live] on earth,
every pure one, every god's servant and all *k3* –priests
who shall pass by [this tomb in the necropolis]
either going downstream or upstream!

⁶⁶ Ward 1982 p. 13 (no. 59) glosses this as "Overseer of Foreign Mercenaries."

⁶⁷ Ranke 1935 v. 1 p. 184:14.

⁶⁸ After the reign of Sesostri II, cf. Franke 1984 dossier no. 295.

May the king favour you, and
 [may your local gods favour you]
 may you [bequeath] your positions to your children
 ...⁶⁹

MK.35

NAME: NEBIPU, Disputes overseer
 LOCATION: Semna fort (room W146), stela Khartoum 2646
 DATE: Dynasty 12 (late) or Dynasty 13⁷⁰

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Dunham and Janssen 1960 p. 61, pl. 91D.
 PM VIII p. 145.
 Vernus 1976 p. 141 (no. 12).

TEXT MK.35: Dunham and Janssen 1960 p. 61.
 Ten horizontal lines of inscription on stela.

i ʿnhw tp(y)w-t3
ʿk.t(y).sn pr pn
ʿnh.tn n ntrw.tn
wnn.tn hr hswt n(y)-swt
sbit r im3h

dd.tn htp-di-nsw
Pth-Skr-Wsir
ntrw ntrwt imy t3 pn
Sbk nb Smnw

di.sn prt-hrw
t(i) hnkt h3 3pdw sntrw mrhwt
ht nbt nfrt ʿwbt ʿnht ntr im(w)
n k3 n(y) imy-r3 šnt⁷¹ Nb.i-pw
ms(w).n nbt-pr S3ty m3ʿ-hrw

n pry is pw m hwt.sn
t3w n(y) r(3.tn) 3h n sʿh
hr-nt(y)t 3h sp nfr n
ir sw r irw n.f sw

⁶⁹ Gunn (1923 p. 27) completes this texts as ‘[according as ye shall say: ‘A thousand loaves, a thousand jugs of beer, a thousand oxen, a thousand fowl, all good and] pure [things whereon a god lives].’

⁷⁰ Vernus (1976 p. 141) places this stela at the end of Dynasty 12 or in Dynasty 13.

⁷¹ Following Quirke (2004 p. 106) and Vernus (1976 p. 141), as opposed to Dunham and Janssen (1960 p. 61) who read “centurion,” i.e. *imy-r3 št* = overseer of 100.

dd.tw n.tn m-mit
m-ht i3w nfr sbt r im3h
hr-nt(y)t wi (ddw)
h3 snb.tn m hrt-ntr m wn-m3^c

O those who (still) live on earth,
 who shall enter this house!
 May you live for your gods.
 May you be in the king's favour,
 passing to (the state of being) an revered one.

May you say a *hṭp-di-nsw* (prayer)
 (to) Ptah-Sokar-Osiris (and to) the
 gods and goddesses who are in this land,
 (and to) Sobek, lord of Semenu.

May they give an invocation offering of
 bread, beer, 1000 fowl, incense, oil, and
 everything good and pure on which a god lives
 for the *k3* of the Disputes overseer Nebipu
 born of the lady of the house Saty⁷² justified.

Indeed, there is no reduction in your property.⁷³
 The breath of (your) mouth is beneficial to the deceased
 because a good deed is more advantageous to the
 one who does it than for the one to whom it is done.

May it (the invocation) be spoken for you likewise
 after a good old age and passing to a revered state
 because I am one (who says)
 "may you be healthy in the necropolis in very truth."

MK.36

NAME:

LOCATION:

DATE:

NEBIPUSENWOSRET,⁷⁴ Keeper of the diadem

Abydos, stela BM 101

Dynasty 12, Sesostri III and Ammenemes III

⁷² Dunham and Janssen (1960 p. 61) suggest that the two birds are ostriches (*niwty*), but I have read them as *s3*-ducks.

⁷³ Dunham and Janssen (1960 p. 61) gloss as "diminution of property." Gardiner (1957 p. 106) section 134 covers the rare instances of the negation of sentences with nominal predicate.

⁷⁴ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 184:15.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Blackman 1935 pl. 1.
 Gardiner 1957 pp. 168-9.
 Parkinson 1991 pp. 139-142.
 Vernus 1976 p. 140 (no.7).

TEXT MK.36:

Blackman 1935 pl. I.
 British Museum 1912 pl. 1f.
 Sethe 1928 p. 89 (no. 28i).
 Seven horizontal lines at bottom of stela.

dd.f n wnw t hwt-ntr n(y)t 3bdw
hwwt.f n n(y)-swt-bity

hwn n(y)-swt m nh.tn
mn n.tn mnw n(y) ntrw.tn niwtyw
wnn.tn hr hswt n(y)t ity.tn
sw3d.tn i3wt.tn n hrdw.tn
wnn msw.tn mn(w) hr nswt.tn
m i3wt.tn n(y)t dt

nn hkr.tn nn ibi.tn
iw wd.n ntr 3
wnn.tn tp t3 hr hswt.f
nn sn.tw.tn m st ksnt
hr hswt n(yw)t ntrw.tn niwtyw

dd.tn htp-di-nsw
Wsir nb 3bdw ntr 3 Wnn-nfr
h3 m t(i) hnt k3k 3pdw prt-hrw
m hb nb n k3 n(y) iry nfr-h't
šmsw pr-3 Nb.(i)-pw-snwsrt ir(w).n It3

t3w n(y) r(3) 3hw n s'h
nn nw m wrdt hr.s
wnn.tn m ihm-sk
m sb3 imy h3-b3.s

He says to the priesthood of the temple of Abydos and
 of its chapels for the king of Upper and Lower Egypt.

May the king be rejuvenated in your lifetime.
 May the monuments of your local gods endure for you.
 May you exist under the favour of your sovereign.
 May you bequeath your positions to your children.
 May your children exist established in your positions
 and in your offices for eternity.

Your hunger and your thirst will not exist.
 The great god has decreed that
 you will exist on earth under his favour.
 You will not be detained in a dangerous situation
 (since you are) under the favour of your local gods.

(According as) you should say a *htp-di-nsw* (prayer)
 to Osiris, lord of Abydos, the great god, Onnophoris,
 1000 bread, beer, beef, fowl, and invocation offerings⁷⁵
 at every festival for the *k3* of the keeper of the diadem⁷⁵
 and retainer of the palace⁷⁶ Nebipusenwosret, born of Ita.

The breath of the mouth is profitable for the blessed (dead).
 (It is) not something under which one wearies.
 You will exist as an imperishable star,
 a star that is in the firmament.⁷⁷

MK.37

NAME:

NEFERNIY,⁷⁸ Overseer of bowmen

LOCATION:

Abydos, stela Florence 1540 (2590)

DATE:

Dynasty 13⁷⁹

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Bosticco 1959 p. 29 (no. 24).
 Simpson 1974 p. 20 (ANOC 44.2) & pl. 63.
 Lichtheim 1992 p. 165.
 Vernus 1976 p. 141 (no. 10).

TEXT MK.37:

Sethe 1928 p. 88 (no. 28f.)
 Eight vertical lines in middle of stela.

dd.f
i ʿnhw tpyw-t3
sš nb hry-hb nb sr nb
sw3.t(y).sn hr šps.(i) pn

mr.tn w3h n.tn Wsir nb ʿnh hk3 dt
dd.tn h3 m t(i) hnkt
h3 m k3w 3pdw h3 m htpt df3w

⁷⁵ Ward 1982 p. 64 (no. 521).

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* p. 176 (no. 1522).

⁷⁷ Blackman (1935 p. n.3 translates *h3-b3.s* literally as “thousand are her souls.”

See CDME p. 184 for the sense of “starry sky.”

⁷⁸ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 198:6.

⁷⁹ Following Franke 1984 p. 209 (dossier 309). Vernus (1976 p. 141) dates the stela to the late 12th Dynasty, whereas Bosticco (1959 p. 29) dates the stela to the end of Dynasty 11 or early Dynasty 12.

hr wdhw n(y) nb dt
n k3 n(y) iry pdt Nfr.n.ti

dr-nt(y)t 3h n ir
r irw n.f
t3w n(y) r(3) 3h(w) n s'h
nn nw m wrdt hr.s
ink s'h n sdm n.f
db' nfr n ir-sw

He says:

O those who (still) live on earth,
 every scribe, every lector priest, every noble
 who shall pass by this tomb-chapel (of mine)!

As you desire that Osiris, the lord of life,
 the ruler of eternity, wait for you,
 may you say 1000 bread and beer,
 1000 beef and fowl, 1000 herbs and provisions,
 at the offering table of the lord of eternity
 for the k3 of the Overseer of bowmen Neferniy.

It is more beneficial for the one who acts
 than for the one for whom it is done.
 The breath of the mouth is beneficial for the blessed dead.
 one does not become weary because of it.
 I am blessed through listening to it.
 (It is) a good reward for the one who does it.

MK.38a-b

NAME:

LOCATION:

DATE:

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

TEXT MK.38a:

Two Appeals

NEFERHER,⁸⁰ Steward

Saqqara pyramid complex of Pepi II

Stela JE 51733 (CG 20829)

Dynasty 12 (late)⁸¹

Jéquier 1940 pp. 39-42.

Vernus 1976 p. 141 (no. 13)

Vernus 1976a pp. 128-138.

Jéquier 1940 p. 41 (fig. 29).

Second horizontal line at top of stela.

⁸⁰ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 197:4.

⁸¹ Franke 1984 p. 209 (no. 310) says the stela came from the funerary temple of Pepi I.

mrr ny-swt pw
mrr ntr niwty.f
dd.f s3h Pth imy-r3 Nfr-hr
hrp wb3ww n hwt-Pth
imy-r3 sftww m r3w-prw
imy-r3 Nfr-hr

One whom the king loves and whom
 his local god loves is one who says:
 May Ptah transform into an 3h-spirit
 the administrator Neferher,
 the controller of the butlers of the temple of Ptah,⁸²
 the overseer of the butchers in the temples,⁸³
 the overseer Neferher.

TEXT MK.38b:

Jéquier 1949 p. 41 (fig. 29)
 Twelve vertical columns of retrograde inscription.

imy-r3 pr Nfr-hr dd.f
ink s'h mry rmtw
3h mn'h 'pr 3hw.f

mrr tn ntrw.tn niwtyw
w3h.tn n 'nh
rwd iswt.tn
sw3d.tn i3wt.tn n hrdw.tn

(i) *sšw hryw-hb hmw-k3 rmt nbt*
dd.tn n.i [htp-di-nsw] hr Pth-Skr
 [n] *imy-r3 Nfr-hr*
sdb.k nhp.k 'nh.k
hpr.k m w' m h3-b3.s
šsp.k 3wwt m r3w-prw
ir.f hpr m hprw nb
'h'w n.f m3kt pr.f r pt
wn n.f mnmnwty
imy-r3 Nfr-hr m3'-hrw

dd.tn h3 t(i) hnkt
h3 m k3w 3pdw h3 m šs
h3 mnht h3 m sntr h3 m mrht
h3 m ht nbt nfrt w'bt 'nh ntr im(w)
ddt pt km3 t3
m 'bd mddjwnt
m w3g m Dhwtyt

⁸² Ward 1982 p. 134 (no. 1143) lists only this example of the title.

⁸³ *Ibid.* p. 44 (no. 337) lists only this example, but cites JEA 47 p. 7 for the title *imy-r3 sft3*.

m rkh m s3d
m prt Mnw m prt Spdw
m hb nb nfr n pt r^c nb
dt n k3 n(y) imy-r3 pr n(y) t^c d
Nfr-hr nb im3h

mrr.f nfr msd.f dwt⁸⁴
iwtj sdr rmt nbt špt ir.f
r^c nb imy-r3 pr Nfr-hr nb im3h
t3w n(y) r3 3h(w) n s^ch
nn nw m wrdt hr.s
dr-nt(y)t nn st mr r.tn
n pr is hnt hwt.tn
nn ksn dd bw-nfr
wn irr ir.[tw] n.[f]
mnw pw irt ikrt

The steward Neferher, he says:
 I am a dignitary beloved of the people,
 an effective 3h-spirit equipped with his powers.

May your local gods love you,
 may you endure (long) in life,
 may your tombs flourish and
 may you bequeath your offices to your children.

O scribes, lector priests, k3-priests and everybody!
 May you say a [htp-di-nsw prayer] to Ptah-Sokar
 [for] the steward Neferher:
 “May you (be) restored (to life),
 may you rise early (in the morning),
 may you live (again),
 may you become as one in the starry sky
 and may you receive offerings in the temples.”
 He is transformed into every form,
 and a ladder is erected for him
 so that he may go forth to heaven.
 The two cattle exist for him,
 the steward Neferher justified.

May you say 1000 bread and beer,
 1000 of beef and fowl, 1000 of alabaster (vessels),
 1000 of clothing, 1000 of incense, 1000 of oil, and
 1000 of everything good and pure on which a god lives

⁸⁴ Janssen 1946 p. 69 (II Az, 1-7).

that heaven provides and that the earth creates
 at the monthly and half-monthly festivals,
 at the *Wag* festival, at the Thoth festival,
 at the flame festival, at the *S3d* festival,
 at the Min processions, at the Sothis procession,
 and at every beautiful festival for the sky every day
 forever for the of the Steward of the fat pantry⁸⁵
 Neferher, possessor of veneration.

He loves goodness and hates evil.
 No man spends the night discontented against him
 every day, the Steward Neferher, possessor of veneration.
 The breath of the mouth is profitable for the blessed dead.
 (It is) not something under which one wearies
 because it is not painful for you.
 Nothing goes forth from your possessions.
 It is not difficult to speak goodness.
 The one who acts is the one for whom (one) acts.
 It is a monument of excellent action.

MK.39

NAME:

NENKHEMSEN,⁸⁶ Butler of the fruit-pantry

LOCATION:

Attributed to Abydos, Hermitage no. 1081

DATE:

Dynasty 13⁸⁷

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Bolshakov and Quirke 1999 pp. 83-87 & pl. 18.
 Lieblein 1873 pp. 22-24 (no. 34) & pl. 21.

TEXT MK.39:

Bolshakov and Quirke 1999 p. 85.
 Four vertical columns at lower left of stela.

i rmt ʿnhw
sš nb (n)ty r s(w)3 hr mih(ʿ)t.(i) tn
hs tn ntrw niwty.tn
mi dd.tn htp-di-nsw
n wdpw n(y) ʿt dk(rw)
Nn-ḥm.sn ir(w).n S3t-ḥp(y) ...

O people who are (still) living,
 every scribe who shall pass by this offering chapel
 (of mine)!

⁸⁵ Ward 1982 p. 22 (no. 139).

⁸⁶ Also called Amenemhat-sonebu. See Franke 1984 p. 87 (dossier no. 86) and Ranke 1935 v. I p. 204:28.

⁸⁷ Could possibly be late Dynasty 12, cf. Bolashakov & Quirke 1999 p. 83.

May your local gods favour you,
 inasmuch as you say a *ḥtp-di-nsw* (prayer)
 for the Butler of the fruit pantry⁸⁸
 Nenkhemsen, born of Sat-hap(y) ...⁸⁹

MK.40

NAME:

NAKHT,⁹⁰ Overseer of goldsmiths

LOCATION:

Abydos, stela CG 20515

DATE:

Dynasty 12, Sesostris I, year 10⁹¹

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Gardiner 1935 p. 36.

Lang and Schäfer 1908 (CGC v.36) pp. 105-7.

Simpson 1974 p. 19 (ANOC 30.1) & pl. 46.

TEXT MK.40:

Lang and Schäfer 1908 (CGC v.36) p. 106.

dd.f
i ḥnw tpyw-t3
sw3.t(y).s(n) hr (m)ḥt.(i)⁹² tn
m mrr.tn⁹³ ḥn msdd.tn ḥp(y)t
dd.tn ḥ3 t(i) ḥnkt
ḥ3 k3w 3pdw
ḥ3 šs mnht
ḥ3 ḥtpt df3w
ḥ3 ḥt nb wḥb ḥn ntr im(w)
n im3ḥ (i)m(y)-r(3) nbw Nht

He says:

O those who (still) live one earth,
 who shall pass by this offering chapel (of mine)!
 As you love life and hate death,
 may you say 1000 bread and beer,
 1000 beef and fowl,
 1000 alabaster (vessels) and clothing,
 1000 offerings and provisions,
 1000 of everything pure on which a god lives
 for the revered overseer of goldsmiths⁹⁴ Nakht.

⁸⁸ Ward 1982 p. 91 (no. 764).

⁸⁹ Followed by the names of brothers and sisters.

⁹⁰ Ranke 1935 v. 1 p. 209:16.

⁹¹ Franke 1984 p. 223 (dossier 337).

⁹² Could also be emended to ḥḥ "stela: (CDME p. 47), which would be equally satisfactory in meaning, but not only is the "t" clearly present, the demonstrative pronoun is also in the feminine singular.

⁹³ Reading the "t" (Gardiner X1) as a second "r" (Gardiner D21) that one would expect in the 3ae-inf. geminating writing of the so-called emphatic tense indicating manner/nominalization.

MK.41

NAME: RAMENYANKH,⁹⁵ Chamberlain and overseer of works
 LOCATION: Abydos North, stela CG 20748
 DATE: Dynasty 12 (late) or Dynasty 13⁹⁶

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Lichtheim 1992 p. 167.
 Simpson 1974 p. 19 (ANOC 34.2) & pl. 52.

TEXT MK.41: Simpson 1974 pl. 52.
 Horizontal lines 4-7 under representation.

dd.f
i hmw-ntr mty n s3w
hryw-hb hmw-k3 nb wnnw n
hwt-ntr n(y)t hnty-imntyw
nhw tp t3
sw3.t(y).sn hr mch.t.(i) tn

m mr.tn grg hwt-ntr tn n(y)
Wsir hnty-imntyw
Wp-w3wt ntr.tn bnr mrwt
hc hrdw.tn hr nswt.tn
dd.tn htp-di-nsw
h3 t(i) hnt k3w 3pdw
ss mnht htpt df3w
m prw hr wdhw n(y) hnty-imntyw
n k3 n(y) imy-r3 hnwy Rmny-nh

He says:

O god's servants, controllers of (priestly) phyles,
 lector priests, and all *k3*-priests who belong to
 the temple of the Foremost-of-the-westerners,
 and those who (still) live on earth
 who shall pass by this offering chapel (of mine)!

As you desire to establish this temple
 of Osiris foremost-of-the-westerners
 and of Wepwawet your lovable god,
 and (as you desire) that your children
 should stand in your places,
 so should you say a *htp-di-nsw* (prayer)
 (consisting of) 1000 bread, beer, beef, fowl,
 alabaster (vessels), clothing, offerings, and provisions

⁹⁴ Ward 1982 p. 32 (no. 230) citing this text.

⁹⁵ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 222:16.

⁹⁶ Franke 1984 pp. 251 and 418 (dossiers 353 and 721).

consisting of what comes forth from the offering tables
 of (Osiris) foremost-of-the-westerners
 for the *k3* of the Chamberlain and overseer of works
 Ramenyankh.

MK.42

NAME: RENPIF, Keeper of the seal
 LOCATION: No provenience, stela BM 240
 DATE: Dynasty 12 (late)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Lichtheim 1992 p. 170.

TEXT MK.42: British Museum 1912 p. 32.

i ʿnhw tpyw-t3
sšw hryw-hb wʿbw
hmw-k3 nb rmt nbt
sw3.t(y).sn hr šps pn

mi dd.tn htp-di-nsw ...

O those who (still) live on earth,
 all scribes, lector priests, pure ones,
k3-priests, and all people,
 who shall pass by this tomb chapel (of mine)!

Likewise,⁹⁷ may you say a *htp-di-nsw* (prayer) ...

MK.43a-b

NAME: REHW-ANKH,⁹⁸ King's acquaintance
 LOCATION: Abydos North, stela Berlin 7311 (destroyed in WWII?)
 DATE: Dynasty 13, Neferhotep I and Sobekhotep IV⁹⁹

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Müller 1972 col. 296.
 Simpson 1974 p. 18 (ANOC 22.3) & pl. 32.
 Spiegelberg 1908 p. 67f.
 Vernus 1976 p. 141 (no. 11).

⁹⁷ As Lichtheim (1992 p. 170) has noted, the entire protasis ("As you desire ...") has been omitted.

⁹⁸ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 225:19.

⁹⁹ Franke 1984 p. 249 (dossier 389). Date is based on Wadi el-Hudi graffito no. 24 (Sadek 1980 p. 51 and Seyfried 1981 p. 70f.).

TEXT MK.43a:

Berlin Museum 1913-14 p. 180.
Four horizontal lines on top of stela under lunette.

i nḥw tpyw-t3
hry-ḥb nb sš nb
ḥm-k3 nb wḥb nb
sw3.t(y).sn ḥr šps.(i) pn
ir(w).n.i n.i r šḥn

mrr tn ḥs tn ntrw.tn niwtyw
sw3ḏ.tn i3wt.tn n ḥrdw.tn
w3ḥ.tn tp t3 mi ḏḏ.tn
ḥtp-di-nsw Wsir ḥnty-imntyw
ntr ʿ3 nb 3bḏw

di.fprt-ḥrw
t(i) ḥnkt k3w 3pdw šs
mnḥt sntr mrḥt ḥt nb(t) nfrt wḥbt
m k3 n(y) rh-nsw Rhw-ʿnh

O those who (still) live on earth,
every lector priest, every scribe,
every *k3*-priest and every pure one
who shall pass by this tomb chapel (of mine)
which I have made for myself in order to rest.

May your local gods love and favour you,
may you pass on your offices to you children and
may you endure on earth as much as you say the
ḥtp-di-nsw (prayer) to Osiris foremost-of-the-westerners,
the great god, the lord of Abydos.

May he give an invocation-offering of
bread, beer, beef, fowl, alabaster (vessels),
clothing, incense, oil, everything good and pure
for the *k3* of the king's acquaintance Rehw-ankh.

TEXT MK.43b:

Berlin Museum 1913-14 p. 180.
Three horizontal lines at bottom of stela.

ḏḏ mdw ḏr-nt(y)t
t3w n(y) r(3) 3ḥ n sḥ
nn nw m wrdt ḥr.s
ḥr-nt(y)t 3ḥ irr
r irrw n.f

Words spoken to wit:

The breath of the mouth is profitable for the blessed dead.
(It is) not something under which one wearies
because (it is) more beneficial to the one who acts
than for the one to whom it is done.

MK.44

NAME: HOR,¹⁰⁰ Head treasurer
LOCATION: Abydos, stela Hermitage 1073
DATE: Dynasty 12 (early?)¹⁰¹

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bolshakov and Quirke 1999 pp. 21-23.
Landa and Lapis 1974 no. 20.
Lieblein 1873 pl. 4.
Vernus 1976 p. 140 (no. 3).

TEXT MK.44: Bolshakov and Quirke 1999 p. 22 & pl. 2.
Horizontal lines 3-7 at top of stela.

dd.f
i nḥw tpyw-t3
mr(r)w nḥ msddw hp(y)t

m33.t(y).sn wd.(i) pn
dd.tn htp-di-nsw
h3 m t(i) hnkt k3w 3pdw
n k3 n(y) imy-r3 htmtyw¹⁰²
Hr ir(w) n Hwt-hr 3st m3^c-hrw

t3w n(y) r(3) 3h(w) n s^ch
nn nw m wrdt hr.s
ih¹⁰³ ir.tw mit(y)t n hmw.tn¹⁰⁴
m-ht htp k3.tn m nḥ
sbi.tw r im3h n(y) dt

¹⁰⁰ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 245:18.

¹⁰¹ Franke 1984 p. 268 (dossier no. 425) places this stela at the end of Dynasty 12, but Vernus (1976 p. 140) places it at the beginning of the dynasty. Bolshakov and Quirke (1999 p. 21) place this stela in "early to mid Dyn. XII" and connect it with Freed's (1996 pp. 314-7) workshop 6, dating to the end of Ammenemes I's reign into the reign of Sesostri I.

¹⁰² Ward 1982 p. 47 (no. 364) gives this title as *imy-r sd3wt* "Overseer of the Treasury." The title is discussed in Helck 1958 p. 77.

¹⁰³ Gardiner 1957 sec. 228 indicates that *ih* is a non-enclitic particle expressing a desired future consequence which may be rendered by "then," "so that" or by a rhetorical question.

¹⁰⁴ Gardiner 1957 p. 75 indicates that *hmw.tn* (your worship) is used to address the gods and honoured men.

He says:
O those who (still) live on earth,
who love life and who hate death!

When you shall see this stela (of mine)
may you say a *ḥtp-di-nsw* (prayer)
1000 bread, beer, beef, and fowl
for the *k3* of the Overseer of the seal-bearers
Hor, born of Hathor-Isis justified.

The breath of the mouth is beneficial to the blessed dead.
One does not become weary because of it.
May it (the prayer) likewise be performed for your
worships after your *k3* rests from life,
when you pass to the revered state of eternity.

MK.45a-c

NAME:

Three Appeals

LOCATION:

HORI and PTAHWER, stoneworkers

DATE:

Sinai (Wadi Maghara) inscription no. 36
late Middle Kingdom-early Dynasty 18¹⁰⁵

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Gardiner 1952 p. 72.
PM VII p. 343.

TEXT ML.45a-c:

Gardiner 1952 pl. 14. Ten vertical lines
contain Appeals from at least three different officials.

TEXT MK.45a:

The first Appeal is the most fragmentary, without a name
being preserved, although at the bottom is a horizontal line
with the name Khnumwernefer. This first Appeal includes
the phrase “as you desire to reach (home) safely (*mrr.tn ph
m ḥtp*). The other two Appeals are given below.

TEXT MK.45b:

ms-ʿ3t Hri dd.f
i ʿnhw tp(yw)-[t3]
[iw.ty.sn] r bi3 pn

hs tn Hwt-ḥr nb(t) mfk3t
*[dd.tn h3 ti hnkt]*¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁵ Černý (1955 p. 72) suggests that the funerary formula and the writing of some of the words indicate an 18th Dynasty date; Weill had attributed the inscription to the Middle Kingdom.

¹⁰⁶ Restored on the basis of the next Appeal, even though the available space would seem to preclude including the same set of signs.

kb sdt sntrw
n k3 n(y) ms-ʕ3t Hri

The stoneworker¹⁰⁷ Hori, he says:
 O those who (still) live on earth,
 who shall come to this mining region!

May Hathor, mistress of turquoise favour you.
 [May you say 1000 bread and beer],
 libation, and the burning of incense
 for the *k3* of the stoneworker Hori.

TEXT MK.45c:

[*dd.f*]
i ʕnhw tp(y)w-t3
iw.t(y).sn r bi3 (pn)

hs tn Dhwtj nb Hmnw
dd.tn h3 m t(i) hnkt
kb sdt sntr t3w
ndm n(y) ʕnh
n k3 n(y) ms-ʕ3t Pth-wr
ir(w).n Hnwt m3ʕ-hrw nbt im3h

[He says:]
 O those who (still) live on earth,
 who shall come to (this) mining region!

May Thoth lord of Hermopolis favour you.
 May you say 1000 of bread and beer,
 libation, and the burning of incense,
 the sweet breath of life,
 for the *k3* of the stoneworker Ptahwer,
 born of Henut justified, possessor of veneration.

MK.46

NAME:

HOREMHAT¹⁰⁸

LOCATION:

Abydos, stela CG 20606

DATE:

Dynasty 12

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Lange and Schäfer 1908 (CGC v.36) pp. 244-5.

¹⁰⁷ Faulkner (CDME p. 117) glosses as “prospector” citing Goyon Inscriptions rupestres du Wadi Hammamat p. 88.

¹⁰⁸ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 248:3.

TEXT MK.46:

Lange and Schäfer 1908 (CGC v.36) pp. 244.
Third horizontal line under the eyes at top of stela.

i ʿnhw tp(yw)-t3
m mr tn n(y)-swt
dd h3 t(i) h3 hnkt h3 k3w h3 3pdw
n im3h Hr-m-h3t nb im3hw

O those who (still) live on earth!
Inasmuch as your king loves you,
say 1000 bread, 1000 beer, 1000 beef, and 1000 fowl
for the revered Horemhat, possessor of veneration.

MK.47

NAME:

HEQAIB¹⁰⁹

LOCATION:

Aswan, Elephantine sanctuary of Heqaib slab

DATE:

Dynasty 12, Sesostri III (?)

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Habachi 1985 p. 50 (no. 20).

TEXT MK.47:

Habachi 1985 p. 50 (fig. 4) and pl. 57e.
One horizontal and three vertical lines at bottom of stela.

i ʿnhw tp(yw)-t3
sw3.t(y).sn hrt.(i) pn

m mr.tn hss tn iry-p^ct [Hk3-ib]
mi dd.tn htp-di-nsw [n iry-p^ct Hk3-ib]
... kbh wsr
n pr h3ty-^c Hk3-ib ...

O those who (still) live on earth,
who shall pass by this tomb (of mine)!

As you desire that the hereditary noble [Heqaib]
should favour you,
likewise you should say a *htp-di-nsw* (prayer)
[for the hereditary noble Heqaib] ...
libation and strength
to the household of the *h3ty-^c* Heqaib ...

¹⁰⁹ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 256:3.

MK.48

NAME: KHUENBIK, Overseer of builders
 LOCATION: Abydos, stela BM 584
 DATE: Dynasty 12

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Collier 1998 pp. 121-2, 172-3.

TEXT MK.48: British Museum 1912 pl. 14.
 Horizontal lines 3-6 across top of stela.

*i ʿnhw
 sw3.t(y).sn hr mʿhʿt.(i) tn
 m hd m hsf*

*m mrr.tn šms Wp-w3wt r nmt(y)t.f nb
 dd.tn [h3] t(i) hnkt h3 k3w 3pdw
 h3 šs mnht
 h3 htp df3w
 h3 m ht nb nfrt wʿbt ʿnht ntr im(w)
 n k3 n(y) im3hy hr ntr(w) 3bdw
 hr n(y)-swt (i)m(y)-r(3) ikdw hw-n-bik m3ʿ-hrw*

O those who (still) live and
 who shall pass by this offering chapel (of mine)
 (either) traveling downstream or upstream!

As you desire to follow Wepwawet in all his strides,
 so may you say [1000] bread and beer, 1000 beef and fowl,
 1000 alabaster (vessels) and clothing,
 1000 offerings and provisions, and
 1000 of everything good and pure on which a god lives
 for the k3 of the one revered by the gods of Abydos and
 by the king, the Overseer of builders Khuenbik justified.

MK.49

NAME: KHENTY, Conscript of the corvée labour
 LOCATION: Hatnub, stela Simpson
 DATE: Dynasty 12, Sesostri I

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Obsomer 1995 pp. 586-7.
 Simpson 1958 pp. 298-309.
 Simpson 1976 pp. 25-30.

TEXT MK.49: Simpson 1976 pp. 29, 26-27.

[ir] grt sš nb ...
 w^cb [nb sw3.ty.fy] ...
 3wi.t(y).f(y) ^c.f n twt (pn)
 [dd.ty.fy prt-hrw] ...

h3 sr h3 mnyr¹¹⁰ h3 ...
 ... n twt pn
 iw.fr ph m htp
 ir.n.f iit n.f r.s

[ir swt] h_d.t(y) twt pn
 sin.t(y).f(y) w_d pn m ...
 nn m33.f Kmt
 nn ir.f iit n.f r.s
 i[n Dhwtj nb] hnmw
 in ^cnty nb [Trty hsf.sn n.f]

[As for] every scribe ...
 [every] pure one [who may pass by] ...
 who shall stretch forth his arm to (this) image,
 [and who shall speak the invocation offering] ...

1000 sr-geese, 1000 pigeons, 1000 ...
 ... for this image,
 he will arrive (home) safely (after) he has
 accomplished that on account of which he has come.

[But as for him] who shall destroy this image
 and efface this inscription ...
 he will not see Egypt,¹¹¹
 he will not achieve that on account of which he has come.
 It is [Thoth, lord of] Hermopolis
 and 'Anty, lord of [Tjerty(?) who will punish him].

MK.50

NAME: KHENTYWKA,¹¹² Chamberlain
 LOCATION: Dahshur, statue pedestal
 DATE: Dynasty 12

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Fakhry 1961 pp. 47-48.

¹¹⁰ Gardiner 1947 II 257* for *mnwt* glossed as "pigeon."

¹¹¹ Simpson (1958 p. 306j) suggests "success" for *kmt* because of the book roll determinative.

¹¹² Ranke 1935 v. I p. 273:12.

TEXT MK.50:

Fakhry 1961 p. 48 (fig. 344). Front of statue pedestal.
Nine vertical lines originally, but poorly preserved.

... *hry-hb nb w^cb nb* ...
m r3-pr pn mn rwd ...

mrr.tn [hs tn ntrw niwtyw.tn] ...
dd. [tn htp-di-nsw h3 ti hnkt k3w 3pdw] ...
... *wpt-rnpt*
n k3 n(y) im3h Pth ...
imy-r3 hnty hnty-[k3]

... every lector priest and every pure one,
[who shall enter] into this temple, firm in flourishing.
...

As you wish [that your local gods should favour you]
... so should (you) say a [*htp-di-nsw* prayer, consisting of]
[1000 bread, beer, beef, fowl] ...
... at the New Year's festival
for the *k3* of the one revered by Ptah ...
the Chamberlain Khentyw-[ka].

MK.51

NAME:

KHNUMNAKHT,¹¹³ born of Nefery

LOCATION:

Abydos, stela CG 20518

DATE:

Dynasty 12, Sesostris I, year 7

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Lange and Schäfer 1908 (CGC v.36) p. 113.

TEXT MK.51:

Lange and Schäfer 1908 (CGC v.36) p. 113.
Bottom two horizontal lines on upper part of stela.

dd.f
mrr.t(w)¹¹⁴ hnty-imntyw nb 3bdw
mrr.t(w) n(y)-swt
mrr.t(w) Wp-w3wt ntr pn nt(y) dt
mrr.t(w) w3h m 3bdw
snb.hr hrdw.(tn)

¹¹³ Or *Nht-hnm*, cf. Ranke 1935 v. I p. 211:10.

¹¹⁴ Alternatively the 2nd person plural suffix pronoun (*tn*) could be supplied, as suggested by R.J. Leprohon.

m ḥmw-nṯr nb m rmtw nb
sw¹¹⁵ ḥr ʿb3.(i) pn
dd.t(y).f(y) ḥ3 t(i) ḥ3 ḥnkt
ḥ3 k3w ḥ3 3pdw ḥt nb(t) bnr(t)
n k3 n(y) im3ḥ Ḥnm-nḥt

He says:

(As) one loves the Foremost-of-the-westerners,
 the lord of Abydos (i.e. Osiris),
 (as) one loves the king,
 (as) one loves Wepwawet, this god who is eternity,
 and (as) one desires to endure in Abydos,
 (so) shall (one's) children be healthy.

As for any god's servant or any person
 who may pass by this stela (of mine),
 he shall say 1000 bread, 1000 beer,
 1000 beef, 1000 fowl, and everything pleasant
 for the *k3* of the revered Khnumnakht.

MK.52

NAME:

SENWOSRET,¹¹⁶ Hall keeper

LOCATION:

Abydos, offering table in British Museum

DATE:

Dynasty 12, Ammenemes III or later¹¹⁷

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Morschauser 1991 pp. 167-8.
 Nordh 1996 p. 28.

TEXT MK.52:

Sethe 1928 p. 87 (no. 28a)

i ʿnhw tp(yw)-t3
mrr in n(y)-swt
ḥs in ḥnty-[imntyw]
dd.in ḥ3 t(i) ḥnkt k3w 3pdw
ḥt nb(t) n k3 n(y) ir(y)-ʿt
Sn-wsrt ir(w).n ʿnḥt

ir grt ir.t(y).sn d3(y)t r ḥtp.(i) pn
ḥr.sn n dsw n(yw) ḥr imy-šntwt

¹¹⁵ Masculine singular prospective active participle, where one might expect a *sdm.ty.fy* form.

¹¹⁶ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 279:1.

¹¹⁷ Franke 1984 p. 300 (dossier no. 489).

O those who (still) live on earth!
 As the king loves you and
 as the Foremost-[of-the-westerners] favours you,
 so should you say 1000 bread, beer, beef, fowl,
 and everything for the *k3* of the Hall-keeper
 Senwosret, born of Ankhet.

Now as for those who shall do damage against
 this (my) offering table,
 they shall fall to the knives of Horus who is in strife.

MK.53

NAME:

SENWOSRET, Interpreter

LOCATION:

Sinai (Rod el-^cAir), inscription 510

DATE:

Dynasty 12

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Černý 1955 p. 219.

TEXT MK.53:

Gardiner and Peet 1952 pl. XCIV.
 Six vertical lines.

mrr(w) ḥs sw Snfrw Hr Nb-m3^ct
ph.t(y).f(y) pr.f m ḥtp
ḏd.t(y).f(y) kb mw sḏt sntr
n ^cw Sn-wsrt nb im3ḥ
ir(w).n S3t-R^c nbt im3ḥ

The one who shall reach his home safely
 and who shall speak the libation of water
 and the burning of incense for the interpreter¹¹⁸
 Senwosret, possessor of veneration,
 born of Satre, possessor of veneration,
 is one who desires that Sneferu, the Horus
Neb-ma^cat, should favour him.

¹¹⁸ Ward (1982 p. 72) glosses as "foreign mercenary, spy, scout."

MK.54

NAME:

SAMENKH,¹¹⁹ Butler and keeper of the moon-crescent¹²⁰

LOCATION:

Ascribed to Abydos, stela Stuttgart 10

DATE:

Dynasty 12 (late)

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Spiegelberg and Pörtner 1902 v. I pl. 6.

Vernus 1976 pp. 140-141 (no. 9).

TEXT MK.54:

Spiegelberg and Pörtner 1902 v. I pl. 6.

Vertical lines 6-12 at bottom of stela.

*i ʕnhw tpyw-t3
 hry-hb nb sš nb
 wʕb nb wt nb i3t nb
 sw3.ty.(w) hr wd.(i) pn
 m hd m hnty*

*m mrt.tn hs tn ntrw niwtyw
 sw3d.tn i3wt.tn n hrdw.tn
 dd.tn htp-di-nsw Wsir
 m t(i) hnkt k3w 3pdw
 n k3 n(y) wdpw iry iʕh
 S3-mnh*

*t3w n(y) r(3) 3h(w) n sʕh
 nn nw m wrd hr.(sn)*

O those who (still) live on earth,
 every lector priest, every scribe
 every pure one, every embalmer, every official,
 who shall pass by this stela (of mine),
 (either) traveling downstream or upstream!

As you desire that your local gods should praise you,
 and that you may pass on your offices to your children,
 so should you say a *htp-di-nsw* (prayer) to Osiris,
 consisting of bread, beer, beef, and fowl
 for the *k3* of the butler and keeper of the moon-crescent
 Samenkh.

The breath of the mouth is beneficial to the blessed dead.
 It is not something under which (one) wearies.

¹¹⁹ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 282:5.

¹²⁰ Ward 1982 p. 91 (no. 756) leaves *iʕh* untranslated. Quirke (1986 pp. 113-4) suggests "keeper of the crescent," which he suggests may be "connected with the vessels of the royal repast."

MK.55

NAME: SAMENKHET (?)
 LOCATION: Abydos, stela CG 20030
 DATE: Dynasty 13, Neferhotep I-Sobekhotep IV¹²¹

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Lange and Schäfer 1902 (CGC v.5) pp. 38-40.

TEXT MK.55: Lange and Schäfer 1902 (CGC v.5) p. 40.
 Six vertical lines of retrograde text on lower right of stela.

i ʕnhw tp(yw)-t3
mrr ʕnh msdd m(w)t
wʕb nb hry-ḥbt nb
sš nb hm-k3 nb
m mr.ty¹²² w3ḥ tpy-t3
[dd] ḥtp-di-nsw n ...

O those who (still) live on earth,
 who love life and who hate death,
 every pure one, every lector priest,
 every scribe, every *k3*-priest,
 inasmuch as you desire to endure on earth,
 [say] a *ḥtp-di-nsw* (prayer) for ...

MK.56

NAME: SANOFRET, High steward
 LOCATION: Aswan, Elephantine sanctuary of Heqaib statue
 DATE: Dynasty 13

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Habachi 1985 p. 92 (no. 67).

TEXT MK.56: Habachi 1985 p. 92 (fig. 10).
 Begins on front of statue and continues on back pillar.

dd.f
i wʕbw ḥmw-ntr
m mrr.tn ntr pn
Pth rsy-inb.f
dd.tn ḥ3 [t(i) ḥnkt k3w 3pdw
n k3 n(y)] ...
iry-pʕt ḥ3ty-ʕ
mḥ-ib ny-swt m b3kt t3wy

¹²¹ Franke 1984 p. 318 (dossier no. 525).

¹²² Second person plural suffix pronoun is normally *tn*.

ḥtmty bity smr w^cty
imy-r(3) šnwty S3-nfret
ir(w) S3t-R^c

He says:

O pure ones and god's servants!
 Inasmuch as you love this god,
 Ptah south-of-his-wall, so (much)
 may you say 1000 [bread, beer,]
 [cattle, and fowl for the *k3* of] ...
 the hereditary noble, *ḥ3ty-^c*, king's
 confidant¹²³ in serving the Two Lands,
 royal seal-bearer, select companion,
 overseer of the double granary,
 Sanofret, born of Satre.

MK.57

NAME:

SARENPUT¹²⁴ I, *ḥ3ty-^c*

LOCATION:

Aswan, Qubbet el-Hawa tomb no. 36.

DATE:

Dynasty 12, Sesostri I

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Gardiner 1909 pp. 123-132.
 Morgan 1894 pp. 185-6.
 Müller 1940 pp. 29-30.
 Obsomer 1995 pp. 477f.
 PM V pp. 238-9.

TEXT MK.57:

Gardiner 1909 pl. VI.
Urk. VII 1.12-13.
 Horizontal lines on lintel of entrance.

... *ḏd(w)*
i 'nḥw [tpy]w-t3
sw3.t(y).sn ḥr is.(i) pn
m ḥd m ḥsf

m mrr tn ntrw.tn
iw.tn r dw3 ntr prt-ḥrw
t(i) ḥnkt k3w 3pdw
n k3 n(y) im3ḥ ḥ3ty-^c S3-rnpwt

¹²³ Doxey (1998 pp. 44-45) discusses this epithet, which literally translates as "one who fills the heart of the king."

¹²⁴ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 283:13.

... who says:
 O those who (still) live on earth,
 who shall pass by this tomb (of mine)
 (either) traveling downstream or upstream!

Inasmuch as your (local) gods love you,
 you shall give thanks and (make) an invocation offering
 (consisting of) bread, beer, beef, and fowl
 for the *k3* of the revered *h3ty-^c* Sarenput.

MK.58

NAME:

SARENPUT I, *h3ty-^c*

LOCATION:

Aswan, Elephantine sanctuary of Heqaib stela

DATE:

Dynasty 12, Sesostris I

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Franke 1994 pp. 177-185.

Habachi 1985 pp. 38-39 (no. 10).

TEXT MK.58:

Habachi 1985 p. 38 (fig. 4) & pl. 25.

Horizontal lines 9-12 in middle of stela.

i w^cbw nyw iry-p^ct Hk3-ib
mrr s^ch pn mr(y)t 3h n.f
im3-ib n srwd pr.f
htp ib.f m ir(w).tn n.f

m-ht is htp shtp sw
db3.f wsb.f ddt
hm nn ntr shpr sw

O pure ones of the hereditary noble Heqaib!
 As this dignitary desires the love of one
 who would be beneficial for him,
 and the favour of one who would cause that
 his household should prosper,
 so will his heart be satisfied with
 that which you do for him.

Now afterwards, the one who satisfied him
 (Heqaib) will be pleased,
 for he will repay the one who answers him
 (with continued) duration.

God does not forget the one who causes him to exist.¹²⁵

MK.59

NAME: SATHATHOR, Assistant treasurer
 LOCATION: Abydos, stela BM 569
 DATE: Dynasty 12, Ammenemes II (?)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Breasted 1906 I pp. 273-4.
 Parkinson 1991 pp. 137-9.

TEXT MK.59: British Museum 1912 pl. 19.
 Horizontal lines 2-4 across top of stela.

i ʿnhw tp(yw)-t3
[sw3.ty].sn hr is.(i) pn
[m] hrt-ntr
m hd m hsft

dd.tn iw wʿb h3 m t(i) h3 hnkt
h3 k3w 3pdw m3-hd ghs
ht nb(t) ʿnh ntr im(w)
n k3 n(y) im3h htmty hr(y)-ʿ
S3t-hwt-hr m3ʿ-hrw

O those who (still) live on earth,
 [who shall pass by] this tomb (of mine)
 [in] the necropolis while
 either traveling downstream or upstream!

May you say it is pure, 1000 bread, 1000 beer,
 1000 beef, fowl, oryx, gazelle, and
 everything on which a god lives
 for the *k3* of the revered one, the
 assistant seal-bearer Sat-Hathor justified.

¹²⁵ The god referred to is presumably the deified Heqaib. Literally this sentence is “a forgetful one is not a god.” One would expect the *nn* to come before *hm*. Perhaps there was some confusion because the negative arms (Gardiner D35) appear in both words.

MK.60

NAME: SA-SOBEK¹²⁶
 LOCATION: Abydos, stela CG 20046
 DATE: Dynasty 12 (early)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Lange and Schäfer 1902 (CGC v.5) pp. 55-6.
 Vernus 1976 p. 139 (no. 2).

TEXT MK.60: Lange and Schäfer 1902 (CGC v.5) p. 55.
 Three horizontal lines across top of stela.

mrr ḥss sw ḥnty-imntyw
dd.t(y).f(y) ḥtp-di-nsw
ḥ3 t(i) ḥnkt k3w 3pdw šsw
mnḥt ḥt nb(t) n im3ḥy
S3-Sbk ir(w).n S3t-Pth m3^c-ḥrw

t3w n(y) r(3) 3ḥ(w) n s^cḥ
n¹²⁷ wrd n.tn bw-nfr

One who desires that the Foremost-of-the-westerners
 should favour him –
 he shall say a *ḥtp-di-nsw* (prayer) of
 1000 bread, beer, beef, fowl, alabaster (vessels),
 clothing, and everything for the revered one,
 Sa-sobek, born of Sat-Ptah justified.

The breath of the mouth is beneficial to the blessed dead.
 A good deed is not wearying for you.

MK.61

NAME: SA-SAPDU,¹²⁸ Chamberlain
 LOCATION: Attributed to Abydos, stela Louvre C166
 DATE: Dynasty 12, Sesostri I, year 18¹²⁹

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gayet 1889 pp. 4-5.
 Lacau 1961 p. 224.
 Obsomer 1995 pp. 560-2.

¹²⁶ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 284:11.

¹²⁷ Written with a wavy line (Gardiner N35), instead of the negative arms (Gardiner D35).

¹²⁸ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 284:15.

¹²⁹ Franke 1984 p. 331 (dossier no. 550).

TEXT MK.61:

Gayet 1889 pl. 24 and Simpson 1986 pl. 31.
Horizontal lines 8-9 in middle of stela.

dd.f
i ʕnhw tp(y)w-t3
hmw-ntr nyw r(3)-pr pn
rn.(i) pw nfr sh3.tn
dd.tn h3 m t(i) hnkt
n im3h imy-r3 ʕhnty S3- Spdw
r r3-pr pn n(y) hnty-imntyw

He says:

O those who (still) live on earth,
the god's servants of this temple!
It is (my) good name that you should remember.
May you say 1000 of bread and beer
for the *k3* of the Chamberlain Sa-Sopdu
at this temple of the Foremost-of-the-westerners.

MK.62

NAME:

SA-SATET,¹³⁰ Chamberlain

LOCATION:

Abydos, stela Basel no. III 5002

DATE:

Dynasty 12, Sesostri III and Ammenemes III

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Schlögel 1978 p. 47 (no. 153).
Naviile 1919 pp. 200-205.
Simpson 1974 p. 17 (ANOC 1.8) & pl. 3.

TEXT MK.62:

Schlögel 1978 ill. 153.
Bottom five horizontal lines of stela.

dd.f
ir hmw-ntr nb hryw-hb nb
hnty-š nb sšw nb ʕkw
r hwt-ntr n(y)t Wsir hnty-imntyw

mrr.tn grg hwt-ntr n(y)
Wsir hnty-imntyw
sw3.tn hr mʕhʕt.(i) tn
dd.tn htp-di-nsw Wsir hnty-imntyw
Inpw nb 3bdw [m]

¹³⁰ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 284:20.

h3 t(i) h3 hnkt h3 k3w 3pdw
h3 sntrw h3 mrhwt h3 mnht
h3 ht nb(t) nfr(t) w^cb(t) ^cnh^t ntr im(w)
n k3 n(y) im3hy nb.f
mry m3^c imy-r3 ^chnty S3-styt
ir(w).n S3t-h^ty-wr m3^c-hrw nb im3h

He says:

As for any god's servants, any lector priests,
any attendants and any scribes who shall enter
into the temple of Osiris foremost-of-the-westerners!

As you desire to provide for the temple of
Osiris foremost-of-the-westerners,
when you pass by this offering chapel (of mine),
so may you say a *htp-di-nsw* (prayer) for
Osiris foremost-of-the-westerners and
Anubis lord of Abydos [consisting of]
1000 bread, 1000 beer, 1000 beef and fowl,
1000 incense, 1000 oil, 1000 clothing, and
1000 of everything good and pure on which a god lives
for the *k3* of one whom his lord honoured,
who was truly loved, the Chamberlain Sa-satet,
born of Sat-Hetywer justified, possessor of veneration.

MK.63

NAME:

SA-SATET, Chamberlain

LOCATION:

Abydos, stela Louvre C5

DATE:

Dynasty 12, Sesostris III and Ammenemes III

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Gayet 1889 pp. 2-3.

Simpson 1974 p. 17 (ANOC 1.7).

TEXT MK.63:

Gayet 1889 pl. 8 and Simpson 1974 pl. 3.
Horizontal lines 3-4 at top of stela.

dd.f
i ^cnhw tpyw-t3
sw3.t(y).sn hr m^ch^ct.(i) tn
mrr.tn Wp-w3wt ntr.tn ndm mrwt
dd.t(y).f(y) h3 m t(i) hnkt k3w 3pdw
n k3 n(y) imy-r3 ^chnty n(y) imy-r3 htmty
S3-st(y)t ir(w).n S3t-h^ty-wr

He says:

O those who (still) live on earth,
 who shall pass by this offering chapel (of mine)!
 As you love Wepwawet, your sweet lovable god,
 he shall say 1000 bread, beer, beef, and fowl
 for the *k3* of the Chamberlain of the overseer of the
 treasury¹³¹ Sa-satet, born of Sat-Hetiwer.

MK.64

NAME: SOBEK, son of Ketī
 LOCATION: Wadi el-Hudi rock inscription no. 11¹³²
 DATE: Dynasty 12, Sesostris I, year 22

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Fakhry 1952 pp. 29-30.
 Sadek 1980 pp. 28-29.

TEXT MK.64: Fakhry 1952 fig. 24 & pl. XIIb.
 Vertical line of inscription in front of representation
 of standing figure on granite rock.

*ir grt šd.t(y).f(y) sw*¹³³
h3.f m htp

Now as for any one who shall read this (stela),
 may he descend (to the Nile valley) safely.¹³⁴

MK.65a-b

NAME: Two Appeals
 SOBEKHERHEB, Chamberlain
 LOCATION: Sinai (Serabit el-Khadim), inscription 53
 DATE: Dynasty 12, Ammenemes III, year 44¹³⁵

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Černý 1955 pp. 79-80.
 Leprohon 1980 p. 72.
 PM VII p. 345.
 Seyfried 1981 pp. 174 & 237.

¹³¹ Ward 1982 p. 15 (no. 73).

¹³² Sadek (1989 p. 29) notes that this is the only Wadi Hudi example, but that such blessings on readers who expect texts occur "frequently in the early Middle Kingdom gaffiti at Hatnub."

¹³³ A poorly written *wḏ pn* earlier in the line provides an antecedent for *sw* (Sadek 1989 p. 29).

Posener (1968 p. 69 note n) has read this *sw* as *wḏ* (?), but this is unlikely.

¹³⁴ Posener (1968 p. 69 note n) translates "Quant à celui qui lira (mon) inscription (?), il redescendra sans encombre."

¹³⁵ Franke 1984 p. 342 (dossier no. 571).

TEXT MK.65a:

Gardiner and Peet 1952 pl. XVII.
Horizontal lines 3-6 of rock stela.

i ʕnhw tp(y)w-(t3)
iw.t(y).sn r bi3w pn

w3h n.tn n(y)-swt.tn
hs tn ntrw.tn
ph.tn m htp
dd.tn h3 m t(i) hnkt
k3w 3pdw sntrw mrhwt
hwt nbt ʕnht ntr im(w)
n k3 n(y) imy-r(3) ʕhnty
Sbk-hr-hb whm ʕnh nfr

O those who (still) live on (earth),
 those who shall come to this mining region!

As your king endures for you,
 as your (local) gods favour you, and
 as you reach (home) safely,¹³⁶
 may you say 1000 of bread, beer,
 beef, fowl, incense, ointment, and
 everything on which a god lives
 for the *k3* of the Chamberlain¹³⁷
 Sobekherheb, who repeats a good life.

TEXT MK 65b:

Gardiner and Peet 1952 pl. XVII.
Horizontal lines 9-11 of rock stela.

sr pn dd.f
i smrw nsw ʕh

imlw i3w n n(y)-swt
sk3 b3w.f dw3 n(y)-swt
m33 hprr n.f
dww hr s3mt nt(y)t im
shd.sn imnt imy.sn
dww h3swt hr 3wt.sn ...

This noble says:
 O courtiers of the palace!

¹³⁶ Simpson (1976 p. 28) notes that the expression *ph m htp* is characteristic of the 12th Dynasty Sinai texts where it is part of the address to the living.

¹³⁷ Ward 1982 pp. 14-15 (no. 72), but Quirke (1986 p. 110) proposes a more literal translation of "Overseer of the interior (of a building)."

Give adoration to the king,
 extolling his power and praising the king.
 Look at what has occurred for him.
 The mountains show the way
 (to) that which is in them.
 They illuminate that which is hidden among them.
 The mountains and foreign hill country possess
 their gifts ...

MK.66

NAME:

LOCATION:

DATE:

SOBEKHOTEP,¹³⁸ Scribe of the great prison
 Abydos, stela Tübingen 458 (formerly in Stuttgart)
 Dynasty 13¹³⁹

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Lichtheim 1992 pp. 167-9.
 Sottas 1913 pp. 70-71.
 Spiegelberg and Pörtner 1901 p. 3 & pl. 2.
 Steindorff 1901 pp. 117-121.
 Vernus 1976 pp. 141-2 (no. 14).

TEXT MK.66:

Brunner 1965 pl. 11 and Sethe 1928 pp. 88-89 (no.28g).
 Horizontal lines 6-18 of stela.

dd.f
i ʿnhw tpyw-t3 hry-hb
sš nb w^cb (nb) sr nb
sw3.ty.sn¹⁴⁰ hr šps.(i) pn
ir(w).n.i r šwt n b3.i
r shnt n šwt.i

m mrr.tn ḥs tn ntrw.tn niwtyw
mn.tn hr nswt.tn
sw3d.tn i3wt.tn n hrdw.tn
ph.tn m htp
sddw.tn mš^cw.tn n ḥmwt.tn

¹³⁸ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 305:6.

¹³⁹ Franke 1984 p. 350 places Sobekhotep in Dynasty 13 (Neferhotep-Sobekhotep IV). Vernus (1976 p. 141) dates this stela to the end of Dynasty 12 or Dynasty 13.

¹⁴⁰ Sw3 is written with an "x" sign and the walking legs. A "t" sign (X1) is located underneath each of these signs, giving two "t"s, where only one is needed. Lichtheim (1992 p. 168) follows her transliteration sw3t(y).sn with a "(sic)." I have taken the two "t"s as a writing of the dual for "ty."

mi dd.tn htp-di-nsw
Wsir nb Ddw ntr ʕ3 nb 3bdw
di.f h3 m t(i) h3 hnkt h3 m k3w
h3 m 3pdw h3 m ht nbt n k3 n(y)
sš n(y) hnrt wrt Sbk-htp m3^c-hrw
ir(w).n sš n(y) hnrt Snb-n.i m3^c-hrw

n pr ls m krst.tn¹⁴¹
nn ksn m r3 n dd.f st
ir ir.ty.fy nn ddwy.i
wnn.i m s3 snb.f
m mkty n hrdw.f

He says:

O those who (still) live on earth, every lector priest,
 every scribe, (every) pure one, and every official,
 who shall pass by this tomb chapel (of mine),
 which I made for a sunshade for my *bai*, and
 for a resting place for my shadow.

As you desire that your local gods favour you,
 that you remain in your positions,
 that you bequeath your offices to your children,
 that you reach (home) safely and
 that you relate your expeditions to your women.

Likewise you should say a *htp-di-nsw* (prayer)
 to Osiris lord of Busiris, the great god, lord of Abydos.
 May he give 1000 bread, 1000 beer, 1000 beef,
 1000 fowl, and 1000 of everything good to the *k3* of
 the Scribe of the great prison¹⁴² Sobekhotep justified
 born of the Scribe of the great prison Seneb-ni justified.

Indeed, nothing goes forth from your burial.
 There is no difficulty in the mouth of the one who says it.
 Whoever shall do these things that I have said,
 I will exist as a guardian of his health and
 as a protector of his children.¹⁴³

¹⁴¹ Brunner (1965 pl. 65) suggests *db3t* "casket."

¹⁴² Ward 1982 p. 163 (no. 1412).

¹⁴³ The determinatives show that this includes both male and female children.

MK.67

NAME: SOBEKHOTEP, Chief treasurer
 LOCATION: Hatnub, stela Posener (no. 53)
 DATE: Dynasty 12, Sesostris I, year 22

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grdseloff 1951 pp. 143-6.
 Obsomer 1995 pp. 585-6.
 Posener 1968 pp. 67-70.

TEXT MK.67: Posener 1968 pl. IX & IXA.
 Last five vertical lines on stela.

ir grt s(i) nb sš nb iky nb
hrp nb šd.t(y).f(y) wd [pn]
[d]d.t(y).f(y) h3 m t(i) h3 m hnkt
h3 m k3w h3 m r3
h3 m ht (nbt) nfr(t)
r ˆ nb n twt pn
iw.fr ph m htp
ir.n.f iit n.fr.s

[ir] grt hđ twt pn
nn ph.f pr.f
nn hpt.f hrdw.(f)
nn m3.f Kmt

Now as for any man, any scribe, any quarryman, or
 any foreman who shall read aloud [this] stela, and
 who shall say 1000 bread, 1000 beer,
 1000 beef, 1000 *r(3)*-geese,
 and 1000 of everything good,
 every day for this image,
 he will reach (home) safely
 after having accomplished that for which he came.

[As for] one who harms this image,
 he shall not reach home,
 he shall not embrace (his) children,
 and he shall not see Egypt (again).

MK.68

NAME: SOBEKHOTEP, Assistant sealer of the overseer
of the treasury¹⁴⁴

LOCATION: Sinai (Wadi Maghara), inscription no. 28

DATE: Dynasty 12, Ammenemes III, year 42

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Černý 1955 p. 69.
Leprohon 1980 p. 69.
PM VII p. 343.
Seyfried 1981 p. 173.
Valloggia 1969 p. 124 (fig. 2).

TEXT MK.68: Gardiner and Peet 1952 pl. XII.
Eight vertical lines under horizontal cartouche with date.

ḥsy.n Ḥwt-ḥr nbt mfk3t
Spdw nb i3bt(y)t (Snfrw)|
Ḥr nb ḥ3swt ntrw ntrwt im(y)w t3 pn
dy n Ḥwt-ntr ḥwwt¹⁴⁵ nbt nfrt
mrrw ph m ḥtp
dd.t(y).f(y) ḥtp-di-nsw
n k3 n(y) ḥtmty ḥr(y)-^c
imy-r(3) ḥtmty Sbk-ḥtp

Those who desire to reach (home) safely,
and those who shall say a *ḥtp-di-nsw* (prayer)
for the *k3* of the Assistant sealer of the
Overseer of the treasury¹⁴⁶ Sobekhotep
are those whom Hathor, Mistress of turquoise
favours (as well as) Sopdu, lord of the East,
King (Sneferu)|, Horus, lord of the foreign hill country
and the gods and goddesses who are in this land,
which gives to Hathor everything good.

MK.69

NAME: SEPI,¹⁴⁷ Hall-keeper, son of
Khentyhetyemsaf, Overseer of the seal¹⁴⁸

LOCATION: Haraga, stela Copenhagen AEIN 1539

DATE: Dynasty 12, Sesostri II or later

¹⁴⁴ Franke 1984 p. 310 (dossier no. 508) and discussion by Valloggia (1969 pp. 123-128).

¹⁴⁵ One would expect *ḥwt* "things" here (Černý 1955 p. 69 n. g); *ḥwwt* may relate to *ḥw* "food" given the determinative (Gardiner R4).

¹⁴⁶ Ward 1982 p. 172 (no. 1488), transliterated as *sd3wty ḥry-^c n(y) imy-r sd3wt*.

¹⁴⁷ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 306:11.

¹⁴⁸ His full title is "Chief Chamberlain of the Overseer of the Treasury" (Ward 1982 p. 15, no. 79).

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Gunn 1923 pp. 27-28.
 Koefoed-Petersen 1948 p. 11.
 Vernus 1976 p. 140 (no. 4).

TEXT MK.69:

Engelbach 1923 pl. LXXII.
 Seven horizontal lines on verso of stela.

dd.f
i ʕnhw tp(y)w-t3
wʕb nb hm-k3 nb sš nb
i3t nb n(y)t hwt-ntr i3t nb n(y)t pr-nsw
šd.t(y).tn¹⁴⁹ sš pn
nt(y)t hr wd pn n(y) dt
sw3.t(y).sn hr iʕ.(i) pn n(y) hrt-ntr
m hd m hnty

hs tn ntrw.tn niwtyw
sw3d.tn i3wt.tn n hrdw.tn
bsi.tn ms(w).n.tn n r(3) hwt-ntr

nfw n(y) r(3) 3h n sʕh
nn nw m wrd[t hr.s] ...

He says:

O those who (still) live on earth,
 every pure one, every *k3*-priest, every scribe,
 every official of a temple, every official of the palace,
 you who shall read aloud this writing
 that is on this stela of eternity, and those
 who shall pass by this tomb (of mine) in the necropolis
 (while either) traveling downstream or upstream!

May your local gods favour you,
 may you pass on your offices to your children,
 may you introduce those whom you bore to the
 language of the temple.

The breath of the mouth is beneficial to the blessed dead.
 It is not anything [under which] one is wearied.

¹⁴⁹ Gunn (1923 p. 28) emends to *šd.t(y).sn*, replacing the second person plural suffix pronoun with the third person plural.

MK.70

NAME: SOPDUNAKHTE
 LOCATION: Sinai, inscription no. 40
 DATE: Dynasty 13 (?)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Černý 1955 p. 73.
 PM VII p. 343.

TEXT MK.70: Gardiner and Peet 1951 pl. XIII.
 Horizontal lines 3-5 of I nk graffito.

mrryw ph m htp
dd.sn [h3 m ti] hnkt k3w 3pdw
n k3 n(y) Wsir Spdw-nht

Those who desire to reach (home) safely,
 should say [1000 bread], beer, beef, and fowl
 for the *k3* of the Osiris Sopdunakhte.

MK.71

NAME: SENPU,¹⁵⁰ Chamberlain of the kitchen
 LOCATION: Abydos, stela Turin 1628
 DATE: Dynasty 13¹⁵¹

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maspero 1882 p. 119 & pl. IX.
 Rosati 1989 p. 112.
 Simpson 1974 p. 21 (ANOC 55.2).
 Vernus 1976 p. 142 (no. 15).

TEXT MK.71: Simpson 1974 pl. 74.
 Six horizontal lines across bottom of stela.

i nḥw tp(yw)-t3 w^cb nb
sw3.t(y).sn šps.(i) pn
mrw.tn nḥ smḥw.tn m(w)t
hs tn Pth nfr hr
t3w n(y) r3 3h(w) n s^ch

n pr is m hwt.tn
ir.tn htp-di-nsw

¹⁵⁰ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 308:17.

¹⁵¹ Franke 1984 p. 356 (dossier 599) says Dynasty 13. Vernus (1976 p. 142) places the stela at the end of Dynasty 12 or the beginning of Dynasty 13.

Wp-w3wt nb t3 dsr
 ntrw ntrwt di.sn h3 m
 t(i) hnkt k3w 3pdw šs mnht mrht
 n k3 n(y) imy-r3 hnwt n t hnkt Snpw

O those who (still) live on earth, every pure one
 who shall pass by this tomb chapel (of mine)!
 As you love life and ignore death,
 as Ptah, fair-of-face, favours you,
 the breath of the mouth is beneficial to the blessed dead.

Indeed nothing goes forth from your possessions
 when you perform a *htp-di-nsw* (prayer)
 to Wepwawet, lord of the sacred land, and to
 the gods and goddesses, that they may say: 1000 of
 bread, beer, beef, fowl, alabaster (vessels), clothing, and oil
 for the k3 of the Chamberlain of the kitchen¹⁵² Senpu.

MK.72

NAME:

SENPU, Warden of the hall of offerings

LOCATION:

Aswan, Elephantine sanctuary of Heqaib scribe statue

DATE:

Dynasty 13

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Habachi 1985 p. 95 (no. 72).
 Scott 1989 pp. 901-906.

TEXT MK.72:

Habachi 1985 p. 95 (fig. 15).¹⁵³

ir grt iw.t(y) hry-hb nb
 šd.t(y).f(y) rn.i
 ir n.tn st tpyw-t3
 htp.tn (m) imnt(y)t nfrt dt

iry-t n(y) hnkt Snpw
 mry iry-pt Hk3-ib
 m3c-hrw nb im3h

Now as for any lector priest who shall come
 and who shall read aloud my name!

¹⁵² Ward 1982 p. 15 (no. 75).

¹⁵³ An offering text (*htp-di-nsw*) appears on the kilt of the statue, while the statue base contains the Appeal text. Because the inscription on the kilt is different in size and style form that on the base, which continues it, the inscription on the base may be a secondary addition on a re-used statue.

May those on earth act for you, that
you may rest in the beautiful west forever.¹⁵⁴

The Warden of the hall of offerings¹⁵⁵ Senpu,
beloved of the hereditary noble Heqaib,
justified, possessor of veneration.

MK.73

NAME: SENEb,¹⁵⁶ Magnate of the southern tens
LOCATION: Abydos North, stela CG 20093
DATE: Dynasty 13, Sobekhotep II¹⁵⁷

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Lange and Schäfer 1902 (CGC v.5) pp. 113-4.
Lichtheim 1992 p. 169.
Simpson 1974 p. 20 (ANOC 49a).

TEXT MK.73: Lange and Schäfer 1902 (CGC v.5) pp. 113-4.
Simpson 1974 pl. 67.
Eight horizontal lines above representation.

*i ʿnhw tpyw-t3
sš nb wʿb nb hm-k3 nb
mtyw nyw s3w
d3d3t pr Wsir
sr nb sw3.t(y).fy hr šps pn*

*mrr.tn w3h.tn tp t3
sw3d.tn i3wt.tn prw.tn n hrdw.tn
hs tn ntrw.tn niwttyw
mi šd.tn ʿb3.(i) pn*

*mi dd.tn htp-di-nsw
Wsir ntr ʿ3 hnty-imntyw
nb 3bdw Wp-w3wt nb 3bdw
ntrw imyw 3bdw
... n k3 n(y) wr mdw šmʿw
Snb m3ʿ-hrw*

¹⁵⁴ Scott (1989 p. 904) reads "it shall be done for you (by) the living when you rest (in) the beautiful west."

¹⁵⁵ Ward 1982 p. 57 (no. 458) glosses as "Hall-keeper of the kitchen." Ward 1982a discusses the use of the term ʿt hnkʿt as "kitchen."

¹⁵⁶ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 312:15.

¹⁵⁷ Franke 1984 p. 368 (dossier no. 622). A mention in Papyrus Boulaq 18 places Seneb in the reign of Sobekhotep II (Dynasty 13). Doxey (1998 p. 237) dates this stela to early Dynasty 13.

O those who (still) live on earth,
 every scribe, every pure one, every *k3*-priest,
 controllers of the priestly phyles and
 the council of the temple of Osiris, and
 every official who shall pass by this tomb chapel!

(As) you desire that you should endure upon earth, that
 you bequeath your offices and your homes to your children,
 and that your local gods should favour you,
 likewise you should read aloud this stela (of mine).

Likewise you should say a *ḥtp-di-nsw* (prayer)
 to Osiris, the great god, foremost-of-the-westerners,
 the lord of Abydos, and to Wepwawet, the lord of Abydos,
 and to (all) the deities who are in Abydos ...
 for the *k3* of the Magnate of the Southern Tens,¹⁵⁸
 Seneb justified.

MK.74

NAME:

SENEBBU,¹⁵⁹ Expedition leader

LOCATION:

Aswan, Elephantine sanctuary of Heqaib

Seated statue of Senebbu

DATE:

Dynasty 12¹⁶⁰

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Franke 1994 pp. 53-55.

Habachi 1956 p. 15.

Habachi 1985 pp. 75-76 (no. 49).

TEXT MK.74:

Habachi 1985 p. 76 (fig. 11d) & pl. 128.
 Five vertical lines on back of cubical statue seat
 followed by names and titles on the two sides.

i ḥnw imyw 3bw
ndsw.s ḥ3w.s d3mw.s

m mr.tn m33 tni
dw3(yt) n(y)t ḥb Skr
dd.tn ḥtp-di-nsw n
iry-pḥt ḥ3ty-ḥtmty-bity
smr wḥty hrw nmtt d3r srf
mrrw nb.f ḥr ḥn.f kd

¹⁵⁸ Ward 1982 p. 87 (no. 721).

¹⁵⁹ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 315:5.

¹⁶⁰ Probably to be identified with Franke (1984 p. 377) dossier 640, cf. Habachi 1985 pp.76-77.

smn m hmt.(f)
irr ḥsst ḥss sw
imy-r3 mš^c Snbbw m3^c-ḥrw

O those who (still) live and are in Elephantine,
 its common folk, its children and its young men!

As much as you desire to see the distinguished one
 (i.e. Heqaib) on the morning of the Sokar festival,
 so you should say a *ḥtp-dī-nsw* (prayer) for the
 hereditary noble, *ḥ3ty-^c*, royal seal-bearer,
 select friend, one calm of step,¹⁶¹ self controlled, one
 whom his lord loves because of his beauty of character,¹⁶²
 one who is established in (his) craft,
 one who does what the one who favours him favours,
 the expedition leader Senebbu, justified.

MK.75

NAME:

SENINEN,¹⁶³ Scribe of the administration of the treasury

LOCATION:

Sinai (Serabit el-Khadim) inscription 409

Harvard Semitic Museum no. 8634

DATE:

Dynasty 12, Ammenemes III¹⁶⁴

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Černý 1955 pp. 207-8.

TEXT MK.75:

Gardiner & Peet 1952 pl. LXXXIII.

Seven horizontal lines under names of king and official.

i ṛnhw tpyw-t3
tw.ty.sn r bi3 pn
m sš nb

mrr tn ntrw.tn
dd.tn [ḥ3 m] t(i) ḥnkt k3w
3pdw ḥtpw-ntr nb w^cb
n k3 n(y) sš n(y) d3d3t
n(y) pr-ḥd Sn-inn m3^c-ḥrw
nb im3ḥ ir(w).n Rn.s-snb

¹⁶¹ Although Doxey (1998 p. 62) lists this text under *d3r srf*, this example of the phrase *ḥrw-nmtt* is not listed (Doxey 1998 p. 61). Doxey (1998 p. 64) indicates that examples of *ḥrw-nmtt* are only attested between the reigns of Ammenemes II and Ammenemes IV.

¹⁶² This epithet is noted by Doxey (1998 p. 309) as an isolated example.

¹⁶³ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 315:24. The name on the top of the stela is Dedusobek-Renefsonneb, Controller of a palace.

¹⁶⁴ Franke 1984 p. 442 (dossier no.766); also known from years 38 and 41 of Ammenemes III.

O those who (still) live on earth,
 who shall come to this mining region,
 being any scribe!

As your (local) gods love you,
 may you say [1000] bread, beer, beef,
 fowl, and every pure divine offering
 for the *k3* of the scribe of the administration
 of the treasury Seninen justified,
 possessor of honour, whom Renessoneb bore.

MK.76

NAME:

SENETITES¹⁶⁵

LOCATION:

Abydos, stela CG 20017

DATE:

Dynasty 12 (late) –Dynasty 13¹⁶⁶

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Nordh 1996 p. 24
 Simpson 1974 p. 17 (ANOC 11.2).

TEXT MK.76:

Simpson 1974 pl. 20.

*mry n(y)-swt Wsir hnty-imntyw pw
 w^cb nb hm-ntr nb r(m)ḏ nbt
 sw3.t(y).sn hr ^cb3 pn n ḏt
 m ḥd ḥsfw*

*ndm-ib.tn m n(y)-swt.tn
 m Wsir nb Ddw
 ḏd.tn ḥ3 t(i) hnkt k3w 3pdw
 sntr mrht hr nbt ntr im(w)
 n k3 n(y) im3ḥ hr Hwt-hr
 nbt ^cnh-t3wy mrt hr ntr ^c3
 nb pt Snt.it.s m3^ct-hrw*

Beloved of the king and Osiris foremost-of-the-westerners
 is every pure one, every god's servant and every person
 who shall pass by this stela for eternity
 (either) traveling downstream or upstream.

May you rejoice with you king and
 with Osiris, Lord of Busiris.

¹⁶⁵ Ranke 1925 v. I p. 311:13.

¹⁶⁶ Franke 1984 p. 293 (dossier 475).

May you say 1000 bread, beer, beef, fowl,
incense, oil, and everything on which a god lives
for the *k3* of the one revered by Hathor
mistress of *ʿnh-t3wy*,¹⁶⁷ beloved by the great god,
mistress of heaven, Senetites justified.

MK.77a-b

NAME:

Two Appeals

LOCATION:

SEHETEPBRE, Treasurer of Ammenemes III

DATE:

Abydos, stela CG 20538

Dynasty 12, Ammenemes III¹⁶⁸

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Breasted 1906 I sections 745-8.

Kamal 1938 pp. 265-283.

Kamal 1940 pp. 209-229.

Lange and Schäfer 1908 (CGC v.36) pp. 145-150.

Lichtheim 1975 pp. 125-129.

Lichtheim 1992 p. 171.

Sethe 1927 pp. 99-104.

TEXT MK.77a:

Lange and Schäfer 1908 (CGC v.36) p. 147 and
Sethe 1928 p. 70. Nine vertical lines on lower right
of stela recto.

*dd.f**i¹⁶⁹ h3ty-^c nb imy-r3 hm-ntr nb**hm-ntr ʿ3 nb hry-hbt nb**htmty ntr nb wt Inpw nb**hm-ntr ʿs3 nb mty n(y) s3w nb**ʿnh nb n(y) niwt tn nb (sic)**hpr.t(y).fy m hwt-ntr tn**sw3.t(y).sn hr m^ch^ct.(i) tn**šd.t(y).sn wd.(i) pn**m mrr tn Wsir hnty-imntyw**whm.tn irt hbw.f**m mrr tn Wp-w3wt ntr.tn bnr mrwt**ndm ib.tn m n(y)-swt r nhh**mrw.tn ʿnh smhw.tn m(w)t**snb n.tn hrdw.tn**dd.tn m tpt-r3.tn htp-di-nsw*

¹⁶⁷ A reference to Memphis (CDME p. 44).

¹⁶⁸ Franke 184 p. 404 (dossier 692). Although Sehetepibre served in the reigns of both Sesostris III and Ammenemes III, the cartouches show that he erected his limestone stela at Abydos in the reign of the latter king (Lichtheim 1975 p. 125).

¹⁶⁹ This word (two signs) appears on the twelfth horizontal line above the section with the vertical lines.

h3 m t(i) hnkt k3w 3pdw šs
mnht ht nb(t) bnrt nht ntr im(w)
n im3h (i)r(y)-p^c(t) h3ty-^c
htmty-bity imy-r(3) gs-pr idnw n(y) imy-r(3) htmtyw
Shtp-ib-r^c ir(w).n Ddt-mwt m3^c-hrw

He says:

O every *h3ty-^c*, every overseer of god's servants,
 every chief god's servant, every lector priest,
 every god's seal-bearer, every Anubis embalmer,
 every ordinary god's servant, every phyle chief,
 and every citizen of this town (i.e. Abydos)
 who shall happen to be in this temple,
 who shall pass by this offering chapel (of mine),
 and who shall read aloud this stela (of mine)!

As Osiris foremost-of-the-westerners loves you
 and (as you) repeat performing his festivals,
 as Wepwawet, your lovable god, loves you,
 (and as) your hearts rejoice in the king forever,
 (and as) you love life and forget death,
 (and as) your children are healthy for you,
 (so) shall you say by means of your utterance
 a *hpt-di-nsw* (prayer, consisting of)
 1000 of bread, beer, beef, fowl, alabaster (vessels),
 clothing, and everything sweet on which a god lives
 for the revered one, the hereditary noble, *h3ty-^c*,
 royal seal-bearer, district administrator, deputy chief
 seal-bearer,¹⁷⁰ Sehetepibre, born of Dedet-Mut justified.

TEXT MK.77b:

Lange and Schäfer 1908 (CGC v.36) p. 149 and
 Sethe 1928 p. 69. Bottom six horizontal lines on
 stela verso.

dd.f
mrr n(y)-swt pw
mrrw ntr.f niwty pw
w^cbw n(y) Wsir hnty-imntyw m 3bdw
hwt-ntr wnwt n(yw)t ntr pn
w^cbw nyw n(y)-swt-bity
(Ny-m3^ct-r^c)| n^ch dt r nh^c
n(y)-swt-bity (h^c-k3w-r^c)| m3^c-hrw
hwt-ntr wnwt.sn imy(t) niwt tn

¹⁷⁰ Ward 1982 p. 70 (no. 576) glossed as "Deputy of the Overseer of the Treasury."

rmṯw nbw n(y)t 3bdw
sw3.t(y).sn hr mḥṯ.t(i) ṯn
m ḥd m ḥnty
m mrr ṯn n(y)-swt.ṯn
ḥs ṯn nṯrw.ṯn niwtyw
mn msw.ṯn hr nswt.ṯn
mrw.ṯn ḥnh smḥw.ṯn m(w)t

dd.ṯn
ḥ3 m t(i) ḥnkt k3w 3pdw šš
mnḥt snṯr mrḥt rnpwt nb
ḥnkt nb ḥnh nṯr im(w)
n k3 n(y) im3ḥ ir(y)-pḥ(t) ḥ3ty-ḥ ḥtmty-bity
mry nb.f smr wḥty n(y) mrt
idnw n(y) imy-r3 ḥtmtyw Šḥtp-ib-rḥ m3ḥ-ḥrw
ir(w).n Ddt-mwt m3ḥ-ḥrw nb im3ḥ

He says:

Those whom the king loves and
 those whom his local god loves are the
 pure ones of Osiris foremost-of-the-westerners in Abydos,
 the (entire) temple priesthood of this god, and
 the pure ones of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt
 Ammenemes III, who loves forever unto eternity and the
 King of Upper and Lower Egypt Sesostris III justified,
 and their (entire) priesthood who are in this town!

All people of Abydos
 who shall pass by this offering chapel (of mine)
 (either) going downstream or upstream,
 as your king loves you,
 as your local gods favour you,
 as your children remain in your positions,
 and as you love life and forget death.

You should say
 1000 of bread, beer, beef, fowl, alabaster (vessels),
 clothing, incense, unguent, all sorts of herbs,
 and all kinds of offerings on which a god lives,
 for the *k3* of the hereditary noble, *ḥ3ty-ḥ*, royal seal-bearer,
 beloved of his lord, favoured select companion,
 deputy chief seal-bearer, Sehepetibre justified,
 born of Dedet-Mut, justified, possessor of veneration.

MK.78

NAME: SHEN-SETJI,¹⁷¹ Master sculptor
 LOCATION: Abydos, stela Los Angeles County Museum A.5141.50-876
 DATE: Dynasty 12, Sesostri I

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Faulkner 1952 pp. 3-5 & pl. I.
 Lichtheim 1988 pp. 90-91.
 Lichtheim 1993 p. 164.
 Obsomer 1995 pp. 542-5.

TEXT MK.78: Faulkner 1952 pl. I. Horizontal lines 10-16 of stela.

dd.f
i 'nhw tpyw-t3
mrrw 'nh msddw hp(y)t

šms.tn Wp-w3wt r nmt(w)t.f nbt
h̄tp ibw.tn m 'nh tp t3
iw.tn r rdit n.i prt-hrw
m 3bd mddjwnt
wpt-rnpt prt tpt '3t
Dhwtyt iw ntr W3g
rk̄h Skr tp tr
s3d prt Mn H3kr
sdr̄t Pkr tnw hryw-rnpt
h̄bw nfrw n(y) pr Wsir
im3h̄ šn-sty

iw.tn grt r dd h3 t(i) hnkt
h3 k3w 3pdw h3 šs nbht
h3 ht nbt w' b(t) prt m-b3h̄ ntr '3
n im3h̄ imy-r3 gnwty Šn-sty ir(w).n Tyt

He says:
 O those who (still) live on earth,
 who love life and who hate death!

As you follow Wepwawet in all his strides,
 your hearts being content with life on earth,
 you shall give me an invocation-offering
 at the monthly festival, the half-monthly festival,
 the New Year's festival, the First and the Great Procession,
 the Thoth festival when the god comes, the *Wag* festival,
 the flame festival, the Sokar festival, the start of the season,

¹⁷¹ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 328:29.

the *S3d* festival, the procession of Min, the *Haker* festival,
the Laying (Osiris) to rest in Peker festival,
the numbering festival, the epagomenal days festival
and the beautiful festivals of the temple of Osiris,
(namely) the revered one Shen-setji.

Now you shall say 1000 bread and beer,
1000 beef and fowl, 1000 alabaster (vessels) and clothing,
1000 of everything pure that has gone before the great god,
for the honoured master-sculptor Shen-setji, born of Iyet.

MK.79

NAME:

Qay¹⁷²

LOCATION:

Abydos North, stela CG 20567

DATE:

Dynasty 12 (early)¹⁷³

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Lichtheim 1992 p. 166.

Simpson 1974 p. 20 (ANOC 39.1).

TEXT MK.79:

Simpson 1974 pl. 57. Two horizontal lines in lunette.

mrr hss sw hnty-imntyw
dd.t(y).f(y) h3 m ht nb(t)
n im3h K3y m3^c-hrw

One who desires that the Foremost-of-the-westerners
(i.e. Osiris) should favour him,
he shall say 1000 of everything
for the revered one Qay justified.

MK.80

NAME:

QEMAU,¹⁷⁴ Retainer of the tribunal

LOCATION:

Sinai inscription 118 (stela)

DATE:

Dynasty 12, Ammenemes IV, year 4

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Černý 1955 p. 122.

Seyfried 1981 p. 180.

¹⁷² Ranke 1935 v. I p. 332:24.

¹⁷³ Franke 1984 p. 208 (dossier no. 308).

¹⁷⁴ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 334:2.

TEXT MK.80:

Gardiner and Peet 1952 pl. XXXVI¹⁷⁵
 Seven vertical lines below main horizontal inscription.

i ʿnhw tpyw-t3
sw3.t(y).sn hr wd.(i) pn

mrr.tn hs tn ntrw.tn
s3h.tn t3wy m htp
dd.tn [h3] m t(i) hnkt
k3w 3pdw šs mnht
n k3 (ny) htmty šmsw ʿrr(y)t
Km3w

O those who (still) live on earth,
 who shall pass by this stela (of mine)!

Inasmuch as you desire that your (local) gods
 should favour you
 and that you should arrive at the two lands safely,¹⁷⁶
 (so) may you say [1000] of bread and beer,
 beef, fowl, alabaster (vessels), and clothing
 for the *k3* of the seal-bearer, retainer of the tribunal¹⁷⁷
 Qemau ...

MK.81

NAME:

TETU, on stela of physician Antyemhat

LOCATION:

Abydos North, stela CG 20088

DATE:

Dynasty 11 or 12 (early)¹⁷⁸

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Lange and Schäfer 1902 (CGC v.5) pp. 105-7.

TEXT MK.81:

Lange and Schäfer 1902 (CGC v.5) p. 107.
 Four vertical lines at lower left of stela.

dd.f
i wʿb nb hry-hb nb
sš nb n(y) r(3)-pr pn

rn.(i) pw nfr sh3.tn
iw sš.n.i m hwt-ntr tn

¹⁷⁵ Plate XLI in 1st edition.

¹⁷⁶ Seyfried (1981 p. 225) lists this passage under the heading “Andere termini zur Reisebeschreibung.”

¹⁷⁷ Ward 1982 p. 176 (no. 1520), omitting this example.

¹⁷⁸ Based on the cartouche of Nebhepetre Montuhotep on stela.

n(y)t hnty-imntyw
im3h Ttw m3^c-hrw

He says:
 O any pure one, any lector priest,
 any scribe of this temple!

It is (my) good name that you should remember.
 I have inscribed (it) in this temple of the
 Foremost-of-the-westerners (i.e. Osiris),
 the revered one, Tetu justified.

MK.82

NAME:

DEMI, Chamberlain

LOCATION:

Aswan, Elephantine sanctuary of Heqaib statue

DATE:

Dynasty 13

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Habachi 1956 p. 14.
 Habachi 1985 pp. 78-9 (no. 52).

TEXT MK.82:

Habachi 1985 p. 79 (fig. 14).
 Six horizontal lines of inscription on left side of seat.

i nḥw tpyw-t3
srw irw nb
ḥk.t(y).w r hwt-k3 pn

m mrr tn ḥss tn iry-p^ct Hk3-ib sdm.f ḥst.tn
mi ir.tn htp-di-nsw
Wsir hnty-imntyw
n k3 n(y) imy-r(3) ḥnty hrp
šm^cw Dmi ir(w).n Khk m3^c-hrw

O those who (still) live on earth,
 nobles (as well as) all those who act,
 who shall enter this *k3*-chapel!

As much as the hereditary noble Heqaib
 loves and favours you that he hears your call,
 so much should you make a *htp-di-nsw* (prayer)
 to Osiris foremost-of-the-westerners
 for the *k3* of the chamberlain of the controller of
 Upper Egypt (?) Demi, born of Kehek justified.

MK.83

NAME: DEDU,¹⁷⁹ Steward
 LOCATION: Abydos, stela Durham-Alnwick Castle 1932
 DATE: Dynasty 12, Sesostri I, year 13

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bakry 1958 pp. 63-5.
 Obsomer 1995 pp. 532-4.
 Simpson 1974 p. 19 (ANOC 31.1).

TEXT MK.83: Bakry 1958 p. 65 and Simpson 1974 pl. 48.
 Horizontal lines 7-11 above representation on stela.

dd.f
i ʿnhw tp(yw)-t3
sw3.t(y).sn hr is.(i) pn
m hd m hsf
m ssw m hryw-hb
m hmw-ntr nb n(y) r(3)-pr pn

rn.(i) pw nfr sh3w.tn
r r(3)-pr n(y) Wsir
d3i.tn n.(i) ʿ m prt tp(y)t
m prt ʿ3 m rkh
r 3bd m mddjwnt
m hbw nb n(y) 3bdw
n im3h (i)m(y)-r(3) pr Ddw

He says:

O those who (still) live on earth,
 who shall pass by this tomb (of mine)
 in traveling (either) downstream or upstream,
 being scribes (or) lector priests or
 any god's servant of this temple!

It is my good name that you should remember
 at the temple of Osiris (in Abydos).
 May you extend an arm to me in the first procession,
 in the great procession, at the festival of fire,
 at the monthly and mid-monthly festivals,
 (namely) at all the festivals of Abydos,
 for the revered steward Dedu.

¹⁷⁹ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 401:7.

MK.84

NAME: DEDU-SOBEK,¹⁸⁰ Chamberlain
 LOCATION: Abydos, stela CG 20026
 DATE: Dynasty 12, Sesostri I, year 10

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Lange and Schäfer 1902 (CGC v.5) pp. 33-4.
 Lichtheim 1992 p. 164.
 Obsomer 1995 pp. 510-513.

TEXT MK.84: Lange and Schäfer 1902 (CGC v.5) p. 33.
 Sethe 1928 p. 87 (no. 28d).
 Horizontal lines 7-10 and vertical line in front of figure.

dd.f
i ʿnhw tpyw-t3
m hmw-ntr hmwt-ntr wʿbw
hnw hnwt n(y)w r3-pr pn
n(y) Wsir hnty-imntyw
irrw ht im.f n sʿhw.sn

dd.tn h3 t(i) hnkt k3w 3pdw
šs mnht n k3 n(y)
im(y)-r(3) ʿhnty Ddw-Sbk
ms(w).n S3t-wsrt

He says:

O you who (still) live on earth,
 namely god's servants, male and female, pure ones,
 musicians, male and female, of this temple
 of Osiris foremost-of-the-westerners, and
 who perform rites therein for their blessed dead!

May you say 1000 bread, beer, beef, fowl,
 alabaster (vessels), and clothing for the *k3* of
 the chamberlain Dedu-Sobek
 born of Sat-wosret.

¹⁸⁰ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 401:19.

MK.85a-b

NAME:

LOCATION:

DATE:

Two Appeals

DJEFA-HAPI¹⁸¹ (Hepdjefa), *h3ty-ꜥ*

Asyut, tomb of Djefa-hapi (Grab I)

Dynasty 12, Sesostri I¹⁸²

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Breasted 1906 I pp. 258-271.

Englund 1988 p. 53.

Manuelian 1994 p. 15.

Obsomer 1995 pp. 570-578.

Otto 1954 pp. 56-7.

PM IV p. 262.

Sottas 1913 p.p. 50-52.

TEXT MK.85a-b:

Urk. VII pp. 53-54.

Griffith 1889 pl. 4, lines 225-7.

Montet 1930-1935 pp. 46-48

(parallel texts between Djefa-hapi and Puyemre)

Sethe 1928 p. 88 (no. 28e)

Vertical lines of inscription 225-227 on east wall
south of door in great hall of Asyut tomb no. 1.

TEXT MK.85a:

*dd.f**ir rmtt nbt ss nb rh-ht nb**nds nb tw3 nb**ir.t(y).sn sd-hrw m is.(i) pn**hd.t(y).sn ss.f**nss.t(y).sn n hntyw.f**hr.sn n dnd n(y) Dhwtj**spd wn imy ntrw**iw.sn n d3tw n(yw) srw**hmnw-bity imyw hwwt wrwt**nn ss p ntrw.sn t(i)-hd.sn*

He says:

As for all people, any scribe, any learned person,

any commoner, (or) any poor man,

who shall make a raucous voice¹⁸³ in this tomb (of mine),

who shall harm its inscriptions (or)

who shall damage its representations!¹⁸⁴¹⁸¹ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 406:16.¹⁸² Franke 1984 p. 446 (dossier no. 777). Manuelian (1994 p. 15) says "Herakleopolitan."¹⁸³ This suggestion is from D.B. Redford (personal communication). Literally it could be glossed as "voice-removal." Based on what follows, this behaviour may be connected with damaging the inscriptions in the tomb. A rendering of "voice-reading" (i.e. reading out loud?) is possible, but is rejected as this would be a positive action, rather than something to invoke the god's wrath.¹⁸⁴ Literally "statues" (CDME p. 203), but used at Hatnub in the sense of "figures."

May they fall to the wrath of Thoth,
the most skilled among the gods.¹⁸⁵
They are for the destruction of the magistrates,
the royal servants who are in the law courts.
Their gods will not receive their white bread!

TEXT MK.85b:

ir swt rmtt nbt sš nb
rh-ht nb nds nb
tw3 nb ʕk.t(y.s)n r is.(i) pn
m33.t(y).sn nt(y)t im.f
mk.t(y).sn sš.f
twr.t(y).sn hntyw.f
dd.t(y).sn htp-di-nsw
h3 m t(i) hnkt k3w 3pdw
h3 m šs mnht
h3 m htpw h3 m df3
h3 m ht nb(t) nfr(t) wʕb(t)
n k3 n(y) nb n(y) is pn
h3ty-ʕ Df3-hʕpy

iw.f r i3w n(y) niwt.f
im3h n(y) sp3t.f
hr-nt(y)t ink sʕh mnht

Now as for all people, any scribe,
any learned person, any commoner (or)
any poor man who shall enter this tomb (of mine),
who shall see what is in it,
who shall protect its inscriptions,
who shall respect its representations,
who shall say a *htp-di-nsw* (prayer)
(namely) 1000 of bread, beer, beef, and fowl,
1000 of alabaster (vessels), and clothing,
1000 herbs, 1000 provisions, and
1000 of everything good and pure
for the *k3* of the owner of this tomb
the *h3ty-ʕ* Djefa-Hapi.

He is the one who will be an elder of his city,
and a revered one in his nome,
because I am an effective blessed deceased (person).

¹⁸⁵ Superlative indicated by *imy*, cf. Gardiner 1957 p. 78 (section 97).

5.0 SECOND INTERMEDIATE PERIOD APPEALS

The Second Intermediate Period, abbreviated here as SIP, is characterized by the advent of the Hyksos rulers in the northeast Delta. The Hyksos culture was a mixed one, both Asiatic and Egyptian, but was clearly based on that of Middle Bronze Age Palestine. Though the Hyksos rulers adopted Egyptian titularies and some aspects of Egyptian material culture, such as scarabs and statuary, the Hyksos elite must have been Semitic speakers with their own mortuary traditions, such as donkey burials. The Appeal text tradition has not been attested in the northern regions of Egypt during the Second Intermediate Period. The end of the Middle Kingdom may be placed with the abandonment of the Residence near Lisht in the late 13th Dynasty,¹ presumably in response to pressure from the Asiatic elements in the northeast Delta. Late Middle Kingdom cultural traditions, including Appeal texts, continued in Upper Egypt. In particular, a number of stelae found at the site of Edfu show the continuation of the late Middle Kingdom Appeal tradition.

Contemporary sources for the SIP are not plentiful (Redford 1997) and it is not surprising that only a minimal number of SIP Appeal texts have been identified. Dating is also problematical for many monuments, with those early in the SIP being difficult to distinguish from late Middle Kingdom monuments, as for example with the Edfu stela of Horemheh (SIP.6). On the other hand, late SIP monuments are very difficult to distinguish from early Dynasty 18 monuments. For example, the Edfu stela of Yuf (SIP.2) indicates that he owner was the administrator of the estates of Queen Ahhotep,

¹ Bourriau 1997 p. 159 indicates that "most scholars" accept this view. See also Bourriau 2000 p. 185. On the SIP see also Ryholt 1997 and Bennett 2002.

wife of Seqenenre tao II, and mother of Ahmose I of the 18th Dynasty; the owner may well have constructed the stela early in the reign of Ahmose I. A more complex situation is found on the statue of Tetiemre from Karnak (SIP.8), where a SIP inscription seems to have been added to a Middle Kingdom sculpture.

The SIP Appeals come from both temple and tomb contexts. For example, the stela of Ameni from Dendera (SIP.3) mentions “the beauty of Hathor in her sacred barque which displays her perfection” and “the beauty of Harsomtous in Dendera who appears in his beautiful festivals.” As at Abydos, it looks very much as if visitors to another major Egyptian festival were being appealed to on this stela. With one SIP Appeal from a statue (SIP.8) and two from tombs (SIP.6 & SIP.7), it looks as if the late Middle Kingdom Appeal tradition continued basically unchanged in the areas under Theban control.

The Second Intermediate Period Appeal texts used in the study are as follows:

SIP.1

NAME:	YUF, ² Lector priest
LOCATION:	Edfu, stela JE 43362
DATE:	Second Intermediate Period or early Dynasty 18 ³
BIBLIOGRAPHY:	Daressy 1917a pp. 242-3. PM V p. 203.
TEXT SIP.1:	Daressy 1917a p. 242. Horizontal lines 5-12 of stela.

² Ranke 1935 v. I p. 15:25.

³ Franke 1984 pp. 62-63 (dossiers 39 & 40) dates this Yuf to “17. Dyn.(?).” Published by Daressy 1917a as dating to the Middle Kingdom. Lacau (1961 p. 222) indicates a date of early New Kingdom according to the grouping of the signs in the *ḥtp-di-nsw* formula and the use of forms such as *ḥsy.in* and *mry.in*.

dd.f
i nḥw tp t3
sš nb ḥry-ḥb nb
w^cb(w) ḥmw-ntr
wnwt ḥwt-ntr r-3w.s

ḥsy tn mry tn ntrw.tn
wn.tn tp t3
sw3d.tn i3wt.tn n ḥrdw.tn
mi dd.tn ḥtp-di-nsw
Wsir ḥnty-imntyw

di.f kbb
t3w ndm m ḥrt-ntr
n k3 n(y) ḥry-ḥb Tw.f m3^c-ḥrw

He says:

O those who (still) live on earth,
 every scribe, every lector priest,
 pure one(s) and god's servants,
 the entire priestly staff of the temple!

May your gods favour you and love you
 while you exist on earth.
 May you pass on your positions to your children
 inasmuch as you say a *ḥtp-di-nsw* (prayer)
 to Osiris foremost-of-the-westerners.

May he give cool water and
 a pleasant breeze in the necropolis
 for the *k3* of the lector priest Yuf, justified.

SIP.2

NAME:

YUF, Doorkeeper of temple

LOCATION:

Edfu, stela CG 34009 (no. 238)

DATE:

Second Intermediate Period or early Dynasty 18

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Bouriant 1887 pp. 92-93.
 Breasted 1906 II pp. 44-46.
 Lacau 1909-1957 pp. 16-17.
 PM V p. 203.

TEXT SIP.2:

Urk. IV 30.7-31.7.
 Horizontal lines 4-9 on stela.

ḥḥ.n dd.n wḥb pn
i sw3.ty.sn ḥr wd pn
dd.(i) n.tn
di.(i) sdm.tn ḥst.i
ḥmt-nsw wrt (iḥ-ḥtp)|

di.n.(s) wi r ḥnk n.s
mni.n.s wi m rpyt n(y)t ḥmt.s
di.n.s n.i ḥkw.s
biwt 100 psnwt
ḥnkt ds 2 psdw m iw3 nb

š3.kw (m) k3yt m ḥrw
whm.n.s n.i kt ḥst
rdi.n.s n.i ḥwt.s nbt Db3
r ḥrp st n ḥmt.s

Then this pure one said:
 O those who shall pass by this stela!
 Let me speak to you,
 that I may cause that you hear of my favour
 with the great king's wife Ahhotep.⁴

How she appointed me to offer for her;
 how she attached me to the (cult of the)
 statue of Her majesty;
 how she gave to me her provisions,
 namely 100 *bit*-loaves and *psn*-loaves,
 two *ds*-jars of beer and ribs from every ox.

I was assigned both high-lying and low-lying land.
 She repeated another favour for me.
 In order to administer them for Her Majesty,
 she assigned to me all her possessions in Edfu.

SIP.3

NAME:

AMENI, Prince

LOCATION:

Dendera, Temple of Hathor.

Stela is in two pieces, one in Moscow (no. 4156)
 and one in London (U.C. no. 14326).⁵

DATE:

Dynasty 17, Sobekemsaf I

⁴ Wife of 17th Dynasty King Seqenenre Tao II.

⁵ The London piece was discovered at Coptos (PM V p. 129).

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Hodjash 1982 pp. 86-93.
 Petrie 1896 pl. 12.
 PM V p. 129.

TEXT SIP.3:

Helck 1975 p. 63 & Hodjash 1982 p. 92.
 Horizontal lines 3-10 on slab stela.

dd.f
i ʿnhw tpyw-t3
sš nb wʿb nb
hry-hb nb hm-k3 nb
shdw hmw-ntr nyw pr Nbw
ʿk.t(y).sn r r3-pr pn
šd.t(y).sn m wd pn
ir(w).n.i m hwt-ntr n(y)t Hwt-hr
rdi(w).n.i r rwdw n(y) nbt Twnt Hr

mr.tn m33 nfrw Hwt-hr m
wi3.s wts(w) nfr.s
mr.tn m33 nfrw Hr-sm3-t3wy
m Twnt hʿw m hbw.f nfrw
mn(w).tn hr nswt.f
sw3d.tn i3t.tn n hrdw.tn
mi dd.tn htp-di-nsw
Hwt-hr nbt Twnw
Pth nb t3wy m Twnt Rʿ-hr-3hty
ntrw imyw prw hryw m Twnt

di.sn prt-hrw tiw hnkt
k3w 3pdw šs mnht sntr mrht
ht nbt nfrt wʿbt ʿnht ntr im(w)
ti wʿb n(y) pr Nbw
dbht-htp n(y) pr Hr n k3 n(y)
s3-nsw wʿrtw n(y) tt hk3 Imni

He says:

O those who (still) live on earth,
 every scribe, every pure one,
 every lector priest, every *k3*-priest and the
 inspectors of god's servants of the Golden one's house
 who shall enter this temple,
 who shall read on this stela,
 which I made in the Temple of Hathor and
 which I placed on the stairway/terrace of the
 Lady of Dendera and Horus.

Since you wish to see the beauty of Hathor in her
 sacred barque which displays her perfection,
 since you wish to see the beauty of Harsomtous
 in Dendera who appears in his beautiful festivals,
 may you be established on your seats, and
 may you pass on your position to you children
 inasmuch as you say a *hṯp-di-nsw* (prayer to)
 Hathor, Lady of Dendera, (and to)
 Ptah, lord of the Two Lands in Dendera, Ra-horakhty,
 (and) the gods who are in the upper chapels in Dendera.

May they give an invocation offering of bread, beer,
 beef, fowl, alabaster (vessels), clothing, incense, unguent,
 everything good and pure on which a god lives, and
 pure bread from the House of the Golden One, and
 a funerary meal from the House of Horus for the *k3* of
 the Prince and Controller of the ruler's table Ameni.

SIP.4

NAME:

NAKHT,⁶ Prince

LOCATION:

Abydos, stela Chicago Oriental Institute 64

DATE:

Second Intermediate Period, Dynasty 17

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Petrie *et al.* 1902 v. 1 pp. 28, 42 & pl. 57.
 PM V p. 45.

TEXT SIP.4:

Helck 1975 pp. 75-76 (no. 108).
 Fragmentary, 3-4 horizontal lines of text at bottom of stela.

... [*hmw-ntr*] *w^cbw itw-ntr*
hryw-hb nb n(y) r(3)-pr pn
mr.[tn] ... r 3bdw

di.sn prt-hrw
t(i)w hnkt k3w 3pdw
ht nb nfrt w^cb(t)

... *hw m hrt-ntr*
nh prt m hrw

... [god's servants], pure ones, divine fathers,
 and all lector priests of this temple,
 [as you] love ... Abydos.

⁶ Ranke 1935 v. 1 p. 209:16.

May they give invocation offerings of
bread, beer, beef, fowl, and
everything good and pure ...

... in the necropolis.
Life (is) coming forth by day ...

SIP.5

NAME: HOR-AA,⁷ Elder of the portal
LOCATION: Edfu, stela Alliot no. 10
DATE: Dynasty 13, Sobekhotep IV⁸

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Alliot 1935 p. 32.

TEXT SIP.5: Helck 1975 p. 39. Horizontal lines 8-11 on bottom of stela.

dd.f
i ʕnhw tp t3
sš nb hry-hb nb
rmṯw nb sw3.t(y).sn hr is.(i) pn

mr tn hs tn ntr.tn niwty
sw3d.tn i3t.tn n hrdw.(tn)
mn.tn hr nswt.tn
mi dd.tn htp-di-nsw
h3 m t(i)w hnkṯ h3 m k3w 3pdw
h3 m ht nbt ʕnht ntr imw
n k3 n(y) n(y) smsw h3yt⁹hr-ʕ3 m3ʕ-hrw

He says:

O those who (still) live one earth,
every scribe, every lector priest,
everyone who shall pass by this tomb (of mine)!

May your local god love and favour you,
may you bequeath your position to (your) children,
and may you establish your seat,
inasmuch as you say a *htp-di-nsw* (prayer)
(namely) 1000 bread and beer, 1000 beef and fowl,
1000 of everything on which a god lives,
for the *k3* of the Elder of the portal Hor-aa, justified.

⁷ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 246:9.

⁸ Franke 1984 p. 270 (dossier 270).

⁹ Ward 1982 p. 152 (no. 1309).

SIP.6

NAME: HOREMMEHIB,¹⁰ God's servant of Horus of Edfu
 LOCATION: Edfu, stela CG 20530 (purchased in Luxor)
 DATE: Second Intermediate Period, late Dynasty 13¹¹

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Lange and Schäfer 1908 (CGC v.7) pp. 131-3.
 PM V p. 203.
 Vernus 1976 p. 142 (no. 16).

TEXT SIP.6: Lange and Schäfer 1908 (CGC v.7) pp. 131-3.
 Sethe 1928 p. 89 (no. 28h)
 Horizontal lines 1-8 of twenty under lunette of stela
 with representations of family members below.

i ḥnw tp(y)w-t3
wḥ nb sš nb
rmṯt¹² nbt hr(y)-ḥb nb
ḥ.t(y).sn r is.(i) pn

mr.tn ḥnḥ msd.tn ḥpyt
sw3d.tn i3t.tn n ḥrdw.tn¹³
mi dd.tn ḥtp-di-nsw
Ḥr bhḏty Wsir Inpw tp(y) ḏw.f
nṯrw nṯrwt imyw ḥwt-nṯr

di.sn prt-ḥrw
t(i) ḥnkt k3w 3pdw šs mnḥt
snṯr mrḥt ḥtp(t) ḏ3w
ḥwt nbt nfrt wḥt ḥnḥt nṯr im(w)
n k3 n(y) ḥm-nṯr n(y) Ḥr bhḏty
Ḥr-m-mḥ-ib m3ḥ-ḥrw
ir(w).n ḥm-nṯr Snb m3ḥ-ḥrw
ms(w).n ḥkrt¹⁴-n(y)-swt Sbk-nfrw m3ḥ-ḥrw

nn 3tpw pw ḥr rmnwy.tn
t3w pw ndm n(y) pḥr.tn
3ḥ.sn n sḥ ḥr-m-mḥ-ib
m hr(y)t-nṯr

¹⁰ The name is also written as Hormenkhrib and Hormehib (Vernus 1976 p. 142 no. 16) and is reproduced as Harem-mehebi in PM V p. 203. Ranke 1935 v. I p. 136:17 gives the name as *mḥ-ib-ḥrw*.

¹¹ Franke 1984 p. 269 (dossier 426) dates Horemmehib's son to the end of Dynasty 17.

¹² The *tm* sign (Gardiner U15) is written, perhaps in confusions with *tmw* "everyone" or "the totality of mankind" (CDME p. 299). The *r* and *nbt* indicate that *rmṯt* is meant.

¹³ A seated man with hand to mouth (Gardiner A2) is written instead of the child with hand to mouth (Gardiner A17).

¹⁴ The *ḏ3* sign (Gardiner U28) is written in error for the *ḥkr* sign (Gardiner Aa 30).

O those who (still) live on earth,
any pure one, any scribe,
any person, any lector priest,
who shall enter this tomb (of mine)!

May you love life and hate death, and
may you bequeath your office to your children
inasmuch as you say a *hṭp-di-nsw* (prayer)
to Horus of Edfu, Osiris, Anubis-on-his-mountain,
(and to all the) gods and goddesses who are in the temple.

May you give an invocation offering of
bread, beer, beef, fowl, alabaster, clothing,
incense, oil, offerings, provisions, and
everything good and pure on which a god lives
for the *k3* of the god's servant of Horus of Edfu
Horemmehib, justified,
whom the god's servant Seneb justified engendered,
born of the lady-in-waiting¹⁵ Sobekneferu, justified.

There is no load on your shoulders.¹⁶
It is the sweet breath of your mouth¹⁷
that will be beneficial to the noble
Horemmehib in the necropolis.

SIP.7

NAME: KHONSUEMWASET,¹⁸ King's son
LOCATION: Edfu, stela JE 38917
DATE: Second Intermediate Period, Dynasty 17

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Barsanti 1908 pp. 1-2.
Redford 1997 p. 2.
PM V p. 202.

TEXT SIP.7: Helck 1975 pp. 41-42 (no. 57)
Bottom three horizontal lines on stela.

¹⁵ Ward 1982 p. 143 (no. 1233), literally "royal ornament."

¹⁶ Mueller (1975 p. 30) gives this as an example of the negation of a nominal sentence with an adverbial complement, rendering "it is not a load on your shoulders."

¹⁷ Written with the *phr* sign (Gardiner F46), which could mean a prescription or remedy (CDME p. 94).

¹⁸ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 263:19.

i ḥw tpyw-t3
srw šmw nb šd.t(y).fy
rmṯw nb sdm.(ty).sn
ḥ.t(y).sn r(3)-pr (pn)

[*mi dd.sn*] *ḥtp-di-nsw* ...

O those who (still) live on earth,
 any official or retainer who shall read aloud (this stela),
 or any people who shall hear (it),
 (or) who shall enter the temple!

[Inasmuch as you say] a *ḥtp-di-nsw* (prayer) ...

SIP.8

NAME:

TETIEMRE,¹⁹ Goldsmith of Amun

LOCATION:

Karnak temple, scribe statue CG 42042 (JE 36343)

DATE:

Second Intermediate Period/Late Middle Kingdom²⁰

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Legrain 1906 (CGC v. 30) pp. 25-26.

PM I² p. 94.

Scott 1989 pp. 183-7.

Vandier 1958 pp. 232, 276 & 593.

TEXT SIP.8:

Legrain 1906 (CGC v. 30) p. 26. The Appeal text runs in a single horizontal band around the statue base.

dd.f
i sš nb m33.t(y).sn twt pn

ḥs tn 'Imn-Rḥ nb nswt t3wy
sw3d.tn i3wt.tn ḥr msw.tn
m-ḥt i3w w3ḥ
mi dd.tn ḥtp-di-nsw
'Imn-Rḥ nb nswt t3wy
ḥt nb(t) nfr(t) wḥbt
n k3 n(y) Tti-m-rḥ m3ḥ-ḥrw

He says:

O any scribe who shall see this statue!

¹⁹ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 384:17.

²⁰ While the statue may be late Dynasty 12/Dynasty 13 in date, the inscription seems to have been added after its original use. Vandier (1958 p. 276 n. 6) has noted that the name Tetiemre is known from the 17th Dynasty, hence the SIP date.

May Amun-Ra, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands,
favour you and
may you bequeath your offices to your children,
after an enduring old age,
inasmuch as you say a *htp-di-nsw* (prayer)
to Amun-Ra, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands
(namely) everything good and pure
for the *k3* of Tetiemre, justified.

6.0 NEW KINGDOM APPEALS

From the preserved remains, Appeal texts may be judged as popular in the New Kingdom as they were in the Middle Kingdom. The New Kingdom Appeal text tradition is based largely at the site of Thebes, where Appeal texts appear both on statues and stelae set up in the Theban cult temples, such as those at Karnak and Deir el-Bahri, and in the front part of Theban tombs. The New Kingdom comprises the 18th, 19th, and 20th Dynasties, lasting from the defeat of the Hyksos and the capture of Avaris by Ahmose, the founder of the 18th Dynasty, to the death of Ramesses XI, the last king of the 20th Dynasty. Three distinct phases mark the New Kingdom; these phases are 1) the early 18th Dynasty, 2) the Amarna Period at the end of the 18th Dynasty, and 3) the Ramesside Period of Dynasties 19 and 20.¹ The early 18th Dynasty was a period of great wealth and power for Egypt, as pharaohs such as Tuthmosis I and III extended Egypt's boundaries from the 4th Cataract in Nubia to the Euphrates River in Syria. As Egypt's military victories were attributed to the god Amun-Ra of Thebes, so much of the material rewards of this success returned to Thebes in terms of monumental temple architecture for the god, but also tombs and statues for those who served the god. This all changed with the death of Amenophis III and the advent of the Amarna Period and its aftermath, which lasted until the beginning of Dynasty 19 with the reign of Ramesses I. The Amarna Period was a time of great religious, artistic, political, and social change, as Akhenaten promoted the worship of the sun disc (the Aten), and established a new capital city at Amarna. The Ramesside Period, encompassing the 19th and 20th Dynasties, was in many ways a reaction to the Amarna

¹ For recent overviews of New Kingdom history and chronology see Bryan 2000, Dijk 2000, Murnane 2001 and Redford 1999.

Period and an attempt to return to “orthodoxy.” This was only partially successful, however, as a clear break had been made with earlier traditions.

In inscriptional and representational documentation, the early rulers of Dynasty 18 followed the precedents set earlier in the Middle Kingdom.² This is seen in the Appeal texts of the period, which often contain formulae and expressions earlier found in the Middle Kingdom. Stelae with Appeals were still set up at Abydos (cf. stela CG 34018 of Nebwawy, stela CG 43003 of Kares, stela Leiden V38 of Neferu, and stela Turin 156 of Baki). Theban Appeals appear in about equal numbers on statues set up in the great cult temples and in the tombs of the nobles in the Theban necropolis (as well as at Hierakonpolis and el-Kab). Statues placed in the outer part of a temple, such as that of Amenhotep son of Hapu (JE 44861), offered to act as intercessors for people with petitions for the god, but who did not have access to the inner parts of temple and the deity’s sanctuary. Statues within the temple allowed their owners symbolically to participate in the reversion of offerings presented to the god’s cult statue. Though the greatest numbers of statues with Appeals come from the Karnak Temple, statues from other temples, such as the Ptah temple at Memphis (statue Louvre E25550 of Hatre and statue Florence 1790 of Ptahmose), show that this practice was not an isolated Theban custom. Tombs of the period often have a stela in the end wall of the traverse hall that includes an Appeal text along with biographical information about the deceased. Appeals are also found on tomb ceilings.³

² Assmann 2002 p. 199, Eyre 1990 pp. 145-6 and Romano 1983 pp. 109-111.

³ In addition to the Appeals in the tombs of Senenmut (TT71) and Panehsy (Amarna tomb 6), unpublished Appeals appear in the ceilings of TT349 of Thay (PM I² p. 417) and TT398 of Kamosi (PM I² p. 443).

The redirection of resources away from the religious institutions of the early New Kingdom by Akhenaten had a profound effect on the Appeal texts, though there is no evidence that Akhenaten tried to “stifle” them (Lichtheim 1992 p. 175). In the private tombs in the cliffs at Amarna, Appeals call upon visitors to praise the king and to adore the Aten, as well as to learn of the great things that the king had done for the tomb owner. For example, Ay in Amarna tomb no. 45 exhorts those who “love life and who desire a good lifetime” to “praise the king, the sole one like Aten; there is no other who is great except for him” (Urk. 1999.12-13). The Appeal text genre, therefore, has been adapted to reflect the new religious and political realities of the Amarna Period. During this era, Appeals are only known from the private tombs of the capital city of Akhetaten..

In the early Ramesside Period, the royal residence was moved to Pi-Ramesses in the eastern Delta. While Appeals are found from the Delta and Memphite areas,⁴ the majority are once again from the Theban region; this is likely due to the better preservation and publication of remains from Thebes, as opposed to those from the northern Egypt. As in the early 18th Dynasty, Appeals are found in both temple and tomb contexts. The most common place to find Ramesside Period Appeals is on statues, especially block statues, of private individuals set up in temples. But Appeals also continue to appear frequently on tomb walls and on stelae. New Appeal situations in the Ramesside Period are on the end wall of the 8th Pylon at Karnak temple (NK.59) and on a stone ostrakon placed in a tomb (NK.1).

⁴ From the Delta are the Appeals of Meryenptah (statue in private collection) from Nebesheh and the Appeal of Pattisy (statue in Masoura Antiquities Inspectorate) from Tell el-Baqlih. From Memphis are Statue Leiden D38 of Hormin, and the Memphite statue of Huy (KRI III p. 169). Statue Cairo JE 89046 of Pahemnetjer, statue Leiden D45 of Ptahmose, statue Cairo JE 48845, and stela Florence 2532 of Tjia are from Saqqara.

The New Kingdom Appeal texts used in the study follow:

NK.1

NAME: ANONYMOUS
 LOCATION: Thebes west, stone ostrakon from an unidentified tomb
 Edinburgh, Royal Scottish Museum 1956-316
 DATE: Ramesside, Dynasty 20?
 BIBLIOGRAPHY: Černý 1967 pp. 47-50.
 TEXT NK.1: Černý 1967 pls. XVI-XIX.
 15 horizontal lines of hieratic script.

*l. dd. (i) n. twtn
 rmtw nbt nty iw. w r gm p3y r-st3
 ptr n. twtn r in nr im. f r-bnr
 ir iw. tn hr gm p3y inr iw. tn hr th3 r. f*

*y3 ntrw dr Pr
 nty htpw [m-hnw] n3 dww hr rwd m mnt
 tw. tw hr st3 n3y. sn nrw*

*ptri n. tn st n(y) š3w. tn
 mtw. tn htp m-im. st
 mtw. tn tm g3w ntrw m p3y. sn pry n(y) h'w. sn
 p3 wn nfr s(i) nb hr st. f
 ndm s(i) m pr. f*

*ir p3 nty iw. f r wd3
 š3w. tn r tfy p3y inr hr st. f
 ir p3 nty iw. f r dg3/tkn. f hr st. f
 iw nbw 3yw n(y) imnt(y) t r db' r. f
 r ikr sp. sn ...*

I am speaking precisely to you,
 all people who shall discover this tomb-passage!
 Beware lest you shall bring outside a stone from it.
 If you find this stone, you are trespassing against it!

Indeed the deified dead since (the time) of Pre,
 those who rest [amidst] the mountains flourish every day,
 (even though) one drags away their stones.

See(k) for yourselves a (burial) place worthy of you.
 And content yourselves with it.

And do not crowd the deified dead in their own dwellings.
Every man in his place is the perfect situation.
A man in his house/tomb is comfortable.

As for the one who will be successful,
you should beware of removing this stone from its place.
As for the one who will drive it from its place,
the great lords of the West will reproach him
exceedingly.⁵

NK.2a-b

NAME:

Two Appeals

LOCATION:

AY,⁶ Divine father

DATE:

Amarna tomb 25

Dynasty 18, Akhenaten

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Davies 1903-8 p. 6 pls. xxxii & xxxiv.

Davies 1995 VI:18.

Lichtheim 1992 p. 175.

Murnane 1995 p. 118.

TEXT NK.2a:

Sandman 1938 p. 99 (E) and Urk. IV 1998.3-10.
Inner door left jamb.

i w^c nb 'nh(w) tp(yw)-t3
d3mw nb(w) hpr(w)

dd.i n.tn w3t.(i) n(y) 'nh
mtr.i n.tn hswt.(i)
k3 šd.tn hr rn.i
hr irt.n.i
ink m3^c tp t3

irw i3w n 'Itn 'nh
rwg.tn m 'nh
ddw n.f ssnb p3 hk3 sp.sn
k3b.f n.tn hswt

O everyone who (still) lives on earth, (and)
every generation who comes into being!

Let me tell you (my) way of life.
Let me testify to you of (my) favours.

⁵ *Sp.sn* is repeated eight times after *r-lkr* to indicate just how great the blame will be.

⁶ Ranke 1935 v.1 p. 5:30.

Then you will read out my name
because of what I have done.
I was righteous on earth.

Make adoration to the living Aten,
so that you may flourish in (this) life.
Say to him: "Let the ruler be healthy!
Let the ruler be healthy!" so that
he may double (his) favours to you.

TEXT NK.2b:

Sandman 1938 pp. 99-100 (K) and Urk. IV 1999.21-24.
Inner door right jamb.

dd.f
i w^c nb mr(w) ^cnh
3b(w) ^ch^c nfr

dw3 n(y)-swt w^c mi 'Itn
nn ky ^c3 wpt-hr.f
di.f n.tn ^ch^c m ndm-ib
k3w 3pdw n(y) dd(w).f

He says:
O everyone who loves life,
and who desires a good lifetime!

Praise the king, the sole one like the Aten.
There is no other who is great except for him.
May he give you a lifetime of joy, (and)
food as well as fowl (out) of that which he gives.

NK.3

NAME:

IMISEBA,⁷ Chief of Archives, Estate of Amun

LOCATION:

Theban tomb 65

DATE:

Dynasty 20, Ramesses IX

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

PM I² pp. 129-132.

TEXT NK.3

KRI VI p. 546. Back wall of transverse hall on left side.

dd.f
itw-ntr w^cbw hry(w)-hbt

⁷ Ranke 1935 v. I p.9:11.

sšw nb rh(w) mdw-ntr
šs3 m dr[f] nb

ʕk.sn hr-s3 r nhḥ
dd.sn htp-di-nsw R^c-hr-3ḥty
Wsir ḥnty-imntyw
di.sn ḥwt ndm(t) w^cbw(t)
n Wsir Ti-mi-sb3 m3^c-hrw

He says:

O divine fathers, pure ones, lector priests,
 all scribes who know the divine words and
 who are skilled in all writing!

May they enter after eternity and
 speak the *htp-di-nsw* (prayer to) Rahorakhty
 (and to) Osiris foremost-of-the-westerners.
 May they give sweet and pure things
 to the Osiris Imiseba, justified.

NK.4

NAME:

AHMOSE,⁸ Prince

LOCATION:

Karnak, stela Cairo JE 59636
 built into 3rd Pylon in reign of Amenophis III
 Dynasty 18, Amenophis I

DATE:

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Herrmann 1940 pl. 5.
 Lacau 1961 pp. 211-227.
 PM I² p. 73.

TEXT NK.4:

Lacau 1961 pp. 212-3.
 Four horizontal lines in middle of stela.

i ʕnhw tp(yw)-t3 sšw
ḥryw-ḥb w^cbw ḥmw-ntr
wnwt ḥwt-ntr mi kd.s
wnn.t(y).sn m šms n(y) Wsir
m ḥb nb
šd.t(y).sn nb wd pn

ḥsy tn mry tn ntrw.tn
wn.tn tp t3
nn šnw.f sbit r im3ḥ

⁸ Ranke 1935 v. 1 p. 12:19.

sw3d.tn i3wt.tn n hrdw.k
rn.(i) pw nfr
sh3.tn wi m r(3)-pr pn
m dd htp-di-nsw Wsir nb 3bdw
... ht.f nfrt r^c nb
n k3 n(y) s3-nsw T^chms

O those who (still) live on earth, scribes,
 lector priests, pure ones, god's servants,
 the entire priestly staff of the temple,
 those who will be in the following of Osiris
 in every festival,
 all those who will read this stela!

May your (local) gods favour you and love you,
 while you exist on earth (so that)
 there are no troubles passing to the revered state.

May you pass on your offices to your children.
 It is (through saying my) good name
 that you should remember me in this temple,
 by saying a *htp-di-nsw* (prayer) to Osiris, lord of Abydos
 ... (that he may provide) his good things every day
 for the *k3* of Prince Ahmose.

NK.5

NAME:

IUNA,⁹ Barque builder

LOCATION:

No provenience (Thebes?), stela BM no. 1332

DATE:

Dynasty 18, Amenophis III?

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Glanville 1932 pp. 39-41.

Lichtheim 1992 p. 175.

TEXT NK.5

HT VIII 33 and Urk. IV 1632.6-8.

Horizontal line of text across bottom of stela.

ir s(i) nb šd.ty.fy nb mdw pn
hsy tn nn (ny) ntrw mdh.t n.sn wi3w
di.sn n.tn nh nfr i3wt nfrt krst nfrt

As for any man who shall read this speech,
 may these gods for whom I built sacred barques
 favour you.

⁹ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 17:19.

May they give to you a good life, a good old age,
and a good burial.

NK.6

NAME: IUNY,¹⁰ Royal scribe and chief lector priest.
Overseer of pure ones and royal steward.

LOCATION: Deir Durunka, kneeling statue MMA 33.2.1
From the tomb of Amunhotpe, Iuny's father.

DATE: Dynasty 19, Seti I.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hayes 1953 II pp. 349-350.
Kamal 1916 pp. 86-89.
Kitchen 1993 pp. 288-9.
PM IV p. 269.

TEXT NK.6: KRI p. 353.10-12.
Three horizontal lines on front of base.

dd.f
i w^cbw hryw-hb itw-ntr
sšw nb ... rhw drf n(y) Dhwty

snb ^cwt.tn n m-ht ^ch^c
htp.tn [m] ^ci[.tn] m niwwt.tn
mi [dd].tn [n].i
rs.k [m] htp hr tr n(y) dw3yt
dd.tn n.i
^cnh b3.[k m-b3h] Wn-nfr
htp-di-nsw
w^cb t3w r fnd.k

He says:

O pure ones, lector priests, god's fathers (and)
all scribes ... who know the script of Thoth!

May your limbs be healthy for (your) future lifespan,
may you rest [in your] tomb(s) in your towns,
according as you [say for] me:

"May you awake in peace at the time of morning"
and as you say for me:

"May your *bai* live [in the presence of] Onnophuris,"
a *htp-di-nsw* (prayer), and

"May the breeze at your nose be pure."

¹⁰ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 17:19

NK.7

NAME: IMAU-NEDJEH,¹¹ First royal herald, overseer of the gate
 LOCATION: Theban tomb 84
 DATE: Dynasty 18, Tuthmosis III

BIBLIOGRAPHY: PM I² p. 168 (4).
 Virey 1886 pp. 38-41.
 Virey 1891 pp. 344-6 & 357-9.

TEXT NK.7: Urk. IV 939.6-940.1
 Stela on left end wall of transverse hall in tomb.

[*dd.f*]
 [*i nḥw nb*] *ḳ.(ty).sn r is.i*
r m33 irt.n.i tp t3
m 3ḥty n nṯr nfr
ḥsy tn [Imn] ...

shm.tn m(w)t sh3.tn nḥ
mry tn n(y)-swt n(y) rk.tn
ḥwn fnd.tn m [nḥ]
[mi dd.tn ḥtp-di-nsw] ...
Hwt-ḥr ḥry-[tp ḥ3st nbt]
[ntrw] ntrywt nbw nbw t3 dsr

di.sn ḥ3 m t(i) ḥ3 m [ḥnkt]
ḥ3 m k3w ḥ3 m 3pdw ḥ3 ...
[n k3 n(y) ... Imw-ndḥ m3^c-ḥrw]

[He says:]
 [O all living ones], who shall enter my tomb
 in order to see what I have done on earth,
 as benefactions for the perfect god,
 may [Amun] praise you ...

May you forget death and remember life,
 may the king of your time favour you (and)
 may your nose be rejuvenated with [life]
 [inasmuch as you say a *ḥtp-di-nsw* prayer] ...¹²
 and to Hathor having authority over [every foreign land]¹³
 and to all the [gods] and goddesses,
 lords of the sacred land.

¹¹ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 26:27.

¹² Likely the name of Amun is to be restored here.

¹³ Urk. IV 939.15 restores Thebes (*W3st*) instead of every foreign land.

May they give 1000 bread, 1000 [beer],
1000 beef, 1000 fowl, (and) 1000 ...
[for the *k3* of ... Imau-nedjeh, justified].

NK.8

NAME: AMENUSER,¹⁴ Vizier
LOCATION: Karnak cachette, pair statue Cairo CG 42118
DATE: Dynasty 18, Tuthmosis III

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Legrain 1906 (CGC v.30) pp. 67-8.
PM II² p. 144(a).

TEXT NK.8: Urk. IV 1036-37 (no. 315).
Vertical lines on back of pair statue.

dd.f
i ʿnhw tpyw-t3
sšw hryw-hbt
imyw-stʿ wʿbw hmw-k3
m3.t(y)w.sn twt pn
snn.i sʿh šps
smn(w) rn.i m hrt-ntr

hs tn mr tn ntrw.tn
hwn fnd.tn m ʿnh
sw3d.tn i3wt.tn n hrdw.tn
mi ir.tn htp-di-nsw
ʿImn-Rʿ di.f h3 m t(i)
hnkt k3w 3pdw n k3 n(y)
[imy-r(3) niwt i3ty ʿImn-wsr]

[hnk m3ʿt] m-hrt
šms.f nb.f ʿImn-Rʿ hnty ʿIpt
hp(r) m hb bik.f
[n] sk(w) rn.f dt
i3w n(y) r(3) 3h n sʿh
nn nw m wrd hr.s

He says:
Those who (still) live on earth,
scribes, lector priests,
assistant priests, pure ones, *k3*-priests,

¹⁴ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 27:7. He is also called just User.

(all) those who shall see this statue (being)
a likeness of me, a noble blessed one,
my name being established in the necropolis!

May your (local) gods praise and love you,
may your nose be rejuvenated in life (and)
may you pass on your offices to your children
inasmuch as you make a *ḥtp-di-nsw* (prayer)
to Amun-Ra that he may give 1000 bread,
beer, beef, and fowl for the *k3* of
[the overseer of Thebes and vizier Amenuser].

[For he presented *maʿat*] daily.
He followed his lord Amun-Ra, foremost of Opet,
who came into being on the feast of his falcon
and his name is [not] destroyed forever.
The breath of the mouth is beneficial to the blessed
dead and is not something of which one wearies.

NK.9a-b

NAME:

LOCATION:

DATE:

Two Appeals

AMENEMONE,¹⁵ Chief of works, Chief of Medjayu

Group statue, Naples 1069

Dynasty 19, Ramesses II

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Museo archaeologico nazionale di Napoli 1989

pp. 35-37 (fig. 3.1).

Kitchen 1993 III pp. 193-5.

Moursi 1972 pp. 61-62.

Reisner 1920 pp. 45-7.

TEXT NK.9a:

KRI III p. 272.4-7. Text on top of family monument.

dd.f

i ḥmw-ntr w^cbw nyw r(3)-pr pn

immi n.i mw wrḥw n.i tpyw

iry.i 3ḥw n ntrw

dr wn.i tp t3

iryw it.i 3ḥw n h3w.f nbw

dr wn.f m r3-ḥry m Iwnw rsy

ntn mit(y)t m-b3ḥ nb.i

¹⁵ Ranke 1935 v.I p. 27:22.

He says:

O god's servants and pure ones of this temple!
Give me water and anoint for me with best oil,
for I did benefactions for the gods,
when I was upon earth.

My father conferred benefits on all his family,
when he was a chief in southern Heliopolis (i.e. Thebes);
and you (can be) likewise before my lord.

TEXT NK.9b:

KRI III p. 272.8-10. Text on base of family monument.

*dd.f n idnw wrw hryw Md3w
n Md3w nb n(y) dmi pn*

*immi n.i mw dmw rn.i
iry.[i] 3hw dr wn.i tp t3
n k3 n(y) Imn-m-int*

He says to the deputies, great ones, and Medjay chiefs,
and to every Medjay of this area:

"Give me water, pronounce my name,
for I did benefactions when I was on earth.
For the *k3* of Amenemone."

NK.10a-c

NAME:

LOCATION:

DATE:

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Three Appeals

AMENHOTEP, Chief steward

Memphis, Temple of Ptah

Scribe statue Ashmolean Museum 1913.163

Dynasty 18, Amenophis III

Davies 1994 V pp. 8-10.

Gardiner 1913 pp. 33-36.

Hayes 1938 pp. 18-24.

Helck 1961 pp. 259-63.

PM III² p. 836.

Scott 1989 II pp. 391-4.

TEXT NK.10a:

On left thigh of statue (vertical lines 31-36)
Urk. IV 1798.12-19.

dd.i
sdm w^cbw hryw-ḥbt ḥmw-ntr
n(y) Ḥnmt-Pth
imy-r(3) pr nb n(y) n(y)-swt
ḥpr.t(y).f(y) m inbw
ḥr-s3 nn r-nty

rdi.n n.i n.tn ḥm.f
t(i) ḥnkt iw^f š^cywt ḥt nbt nfrt
r gm.tn m ḥwt.f n(y)t
Ḥnmt-Pth m ḥrt r^c nb

imi tn ḥnty ḥr tiw.i
wḏ(w) n.i ntr.i imy.i
r stt n.i mw ḥr is.i

I say:

Pure ones, lector priests, god's servants
of the (funerary temple) Khnumet-Ptah
(and) every steward of the king
who shall be within these walls!
Hearken after the following things.

His Majesty has given to me (and) to you
bread, beer, meat, cakes, and everything good,
so that you may find (them) in his temple of
Khnumet-Ptah in the course of every day

Do not covet my bread which my god,
who is within me, has commanded to me
in order to pour out water for me at my tomb.

TEXT NK.10b:

On base of statue (horizontal lines 44-46)
Urk. IV 1799.14-1800.7.

dd.i swt n3 ḥrw
ir imy-r(3) pr nb n(y) n(y)-swt
ḥpr.t(y).f(y) m inbw
sš nb hry-ḥb nb w^cb nb n(y) t3 ḥwt
wnwt ḥwt-ntr mi kd.s
ḥpr.t(y).f(y) nb m ḥwt tn
nty iw.f r isḳ t(i).i
wḏ n(y.i) Pth rsy inb.f
ntr.i šps ḥnh m m3^ct
nbw dt.f ds.f

m dd n.i Nb-m3^ct-r^c
r w3h n.i hr is.i n-wr-n hsw.i hr.f

hbd sw [n] ntr pn šps
nhm.tw i3t.f hft-hr
diw n s(i) nty m hrw.f
wnn k3.f m rwty r.f
pr.f(r) sbi n t3

Now I say the following things:

As for any steward of the king
 who shall happen to be within (these) walls,
 any scribe, any lector priest, any pure one of the temple,
 (even) the entire priesthood of the temple,
 anyone who shall be in this temple,
 (and) who shall hinder my bread (offering)
 which Ptah south-of-his-wall has commanded of me,
 my noble god, who lives in *ma^cat*,
 who fashioned his own body,
 being what *Neb-ma^cat-re* (Amenophis III) has given to me
 to offer for me at my tomb because my favour is with him.

He is hateful to this noble god.
 His office is taken away before (his) face
 (and) is given to a man who is his enemy.
 His *k3* will be absent from him (and)
 his house shall fall to the ground.

TEXT NK.10c:

On base of statue (horizontal lines 46-49)
Urk. IV 1800.8-1801.5

hr ir imy-r(3) pr nb n(y) n(y)-swt
hpr.t(y).f(y) m inbw
sš nb hry-hb nb w^cb nb n(y) t3 hwt
wnwt hwt-ntr mi kd.s
hpr.t(y).f(y) nb m hwt tn
nty iw.f r rdi(t) p3wt.i n hry-hb
imy pr.i m hrt n(y) r^cn b
hs sw ntr pn
šbi.f h^c.f m htp nn šntw im.f
[nmtt].f 3w
sw3d.f i3t.f n msw.f
m-ht i3w w3h

rnptw.f nb m nfrwt nn 3hmwt r.f
rn.f nfrw m-^c rhyt
nn ph sw dw hr-nt(y)t
ink s(i) pw mty m^{3c}
iw rdi.n.i t(i)w n hkr mw n ib
ir.n.i hrwt rmtw hst ntrw

Now, as for any steward of the king
 who shall be within (these) walls,
 any scribe, any lector priest, any pure one of the temple,
 (even) the entire priesthood of the temple, (or)
 anyone who shall come to be in this temple,
 who shall give my (offering) loaf to the lector priest
 who is in my tomb/house during the course of every day,
 may this god favour him (and) may
 he pass his lifetime in peace, without strife therein.
 May his stride be long.
 May he pass on his office to his children
 after an enduring old age.

May all his years be happy, without sorrow therein.
 May his name be in good repute amongst the people.
 May evil not attack him, because truly
 I was a straightforward (honest) man.
 To the hungry I gave bread, and to the thirsty, water.
 I have done that which pleases people
 (and) that which the gods favour.

NK.11

NAME:

AMENHOTEP SON OF HAPU

LOCATION:

Karnak, north face of 10th Pylon of Amun Temple.
Scribal statue Cairo Museum JE 44861

DATE:

Dynasty 18, Amenophis III

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Davies 1994 V p. 22.
 Legrain 1914 pp. 13-26.
 PM II² p. 188.
 Saleh and Sourouzian 1987 pp. 177-8 (no. 148).
 Scott 1989 v. II pp. 364-369 (no. 133).
 Terrace and Fischer 1970 pp. 117-120 (no. 25).

TEXT NK.11:

Urk. IV 1832-33. The text runs in a horizontal band
 around the sides of the statue base.

*i šm3w mhw
irt nbt m3t itn
iww m hd hnty r W3st
r snmh n nb ntrw*

*mi n.i smi.i
dd(w).tn n 'Imn m 'Ipt-swt
irw n.(i) htp-di-nsw
kbb n.i m-nt(y)t m-^c.tn
ink whmw n dd(w) n(y)-swt
r sdm mdwt n(y)t nmh
r s^crt hrwt t3wy*

O Upper and Lower Egypt
(and) every eye that sees the sun disc,
those who come downstream and upstream to Thebes
in order to make supplication to the lord of the gods!

Come to me, that I may report
that which you say to Amun in Karnak.
Make for (me) the *htp-di-nsw* (prayer).
Pour a libation for me from that which is with you.
I am a herald, namely one whom the king appointed
in order to hear the words of the poor (and)
to advance the affairs of the Two Lands.

NK.12

NAME:

LOCATION:

DATE:

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

TEXT NK.12:

AMENHOTEP SON OF HAPU

Karnak, north face of the 10th Pylon of the Amun Temple
Cairo Museum statue JE 44862, now Luxor Museum J.4
Dynasty 18, Amenophis III

Davies 1994 V p. 23
Legrain 1914 pp. 19-26.
PM II² p. 188.
Romano 1979 pp. 90-91 (no. 117).
Scott 1989 II pp. 370-3 (no. 134)
Varille 1968 pp. 18-25.

Urk. IV 1834-35. The Appeal text runs in a single
horizontal band around the sides of the statue's base.

*i rmtw n(y)t 'Ipt-swt 3bbyw m33 'Imn
mi n.i smi.i sprwt.tn*

*ink whmw n ntr pn
rdi.n wi Nb-m3^ct-r^c
r whm ddwt t3wy
irw n.i htp-di-nsw
nis hr rn.i m hrt mi irrwt n hsy*

O people of Karnak who wish to see Amun!
Come to me that I may report your petitions.
I am one who reports to this god.
Neb-ma^cat-re (Amenophis III) has appointed me
to report that of which the Two Lands speak.
Perform for me the *htp-di-nsw* (prayer).
Invoke my name daily like what is done for the praised one.

NK.13

NAME:

AMENHOTEP SON OF HAPU

LOCATION:

Karnak, Cairo Museum block statue CG 583 found
between the 3rd and 4th Pylons of the Amun Temple.

DATE:

Dynasty 18, Amenophis III

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Borchardt 1911-1936 II p. 139, pl. 100/4.
Davies 1994 V pp. 16-20.
Helck 1961 pp. 269-74.
PM II² p. 77.

TEXT NK.13

Urk. IV 1826. Horizontal inscription on right side of base.

*dd.f
i s^chw-nsw hmw-ntr w^cbw
hryw-hb n^chw nyw [niwt]
sw3.t(y).sn hr twt.i*

*mry tn n(y)-swt
n^c nb.tn
hsy tn ntrw nbw niwtyw.tn
dd.tn htp-di-nsw
h3 m t(i) hnkt ...*

He says:

O royal blessed dead, god's servants, pure ones,
lector priests (and) citizens of [the town],
who shall pass by my statue!

May the king love you.
 May your master be lenient.
 May all your local gods favour you.
 May you say a *ḥtp-di-nsw* (prayer)
 1000 of bread and beer ...

NK.14a-b

NAME:

LOCATION:

DATE:

Two Appeals

INENI,¹⁶ Overseer of the Granary of Amun.

Theban tomb 81 (Sheikh Abd el-Qurna)

Dynasty 18, Hatshepsut

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

PM I² pp. 159-163.

TEXT NK.14a:

Stela in tomb, left end wall of transverse hall.
Urk. IV 61.3-62.8.

dd.i n.tn rhywt
sdmw ir.tn bw-nfr
ir(w).n.i ir.tn mit(y)t
sbit.i ḥw m ḥtp
n ḥpr bt3w.i
rnpwt.i m ndm-ib
nn šntyw.i
nn srḥ.i
nn kt.i

ink ḥrp ḥrpw
n ḥpr sk.i
mnḥ ib n nb.f
šw m bg

ink sdm ddt.n ḥry-tp.f
n bk ib.i r wrw imyw ḥ
iw ir.n.i mrrt ntr.i niwty
šw.i m dḥt r-ḥr ḥwt ntr

ir skk rnpwt m ḥsy
wnn b3.f ḥn(w) m-ḥ nb-r-dr
rn.f nfr(w) m r3 ḥnw
sh3.f 3ḥ.f n dt

¹⁶ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 33:13.

I say to you o ordinary people!
 Hearken that you (too) may do the good things
 that I have done, that you may do likewise,
 (namely) my spending a lifetime in peace,
 without my doing wrong.
 My years were joyful,
 without (any) quarrel of mine,
 without (any) complaint of mine,
 without (any) pettiness of mine.

I was the leader of the leaders,
 without my being destroyed,
 one devoted to his lord,
 one lacking in (any) remissness.

I was one who heard what his superior said.
 My heart was not resentful towards the great ones,
 who are in the palace.
 I did that which my local god desired,
 being devoid of any wrongdoing against the god's affairs.

As for one who passes the years as a favourite,
 his *bai* will live together with the universal lord,
 his name being in good repute in the mouth(s) of the living.
 His memory and his excellence (are) forever.

TEXT NK.14b:

Stela in tomb, right end wall of transverse hall.
Urk. IV 65.15-66.5.

[*m3*].*tn* [*n.tn*] *bit.i*
irw mit(y)t iryw 3h n.tn
w3h 'nh.tn tp t3 wd3.tiwny
sbi.tn rnpwt.tn m ndm-ib
sw3d.tn i3wt.tn n msw.tn
htp.tn st.tn n(y)t nhh

May you [see for yourselves] my character,
 the actions likewise thereof are beneficial for you.
 May your life be long on earth with you being well.
 May you attain your years in happiness.
 May you pass on your offices to your children.
 May you rest (in) your place of eternity.

NK.15

NAME:

INTEF,¹⁷ Count of Thinis

LOCATION:

Theban tomb 155, stela Louvre C26

DATE:

Dynasty 18, Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Breasted 1906 II pp. 295-300.

Englund 1988 p. 53.

Gayet 1889 p. 4 & pls. 14-22.

Hermann 1940 pl. 4 [b] p. 40 & p. 57 n.253.

Lichtheim 1992 pp. 173-4.

PM I² p. 265 (finds) indicates Louvre C26 is from TT155.

TEXT NK.15:

Stela probably from left end wall of transverse hall.

Urk. IV 965.11f.

i nḥw tpyw-t3
rmṯ nb w^cb nb sš nb ḥry-ḥb nb
ḥk.t(y).sn r is pn n(y) ḥrt-nṯr
mrw nḥ
smḥ.tn m mwt
ḥsw tn nṯrw niwtyw

nn dp.tn sndt n(y)t ky t3
ḥrs.tn m isw.tn
sw3ḏ.tn i3wt.tn n ḥrdw.tn
m šdt.t(y).fy mdwt.tn ḥr wḏ pn
m sš m sdm.t(y).fy st
mi dd.tn ḥtp-dī-nsw
Imn nb nswt t3wy

di.f ḥ3 t(i) ḥ3 ḥnkt ḥ3 k3w
ḥ3 3pdw ḥ3 šs ḥ3 mnḥt ...
n k3 n(y) iry-p^ct ḥ3ty-^c ḥtmty-bity ... Intf

O those who (still) live on earth,
 any person, any pure one, any scribe, any lector priest,
 who will enter this tomb in the necropolis,
 (all) those who love life,
 may you forget death (and)
 may your local gods favour you.

You will not taste fear of another land,
 you will be buried in your tombs (and)
 you will pass on your offices to your children,

¹⁷ Ranke 1935 v.I p. 34:1.

if he who shall read your words on this stela
as a scribe, or if he shall hear them,
inasmuch as you say a *htp-di-nsw* (prayer)
to Amun, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands.

May he give 1000 bread, 1000 beer, 1000 beef,
1000 fowl, 1000 alabaster vessels, 1000 clothing ...
to the *k3* of the hereditary noble, mayor and
royal seal-bearer ... Intef.

NK.16

NAME:
LOCATION:

ANHURNAKHTE,¹⁸ Chariot commander
Nag' el-Mesheikh (north of Abydos),
statue Linköping Museum (Sweden) no. 189
Dynasty 19

DATE:

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Björkman 1971 pp. 29-32.
Schulz 1992 pp. 360-61.
Valloggia 1976 pp. 157-8.

TEXT NK.16:

KRI IV 375.11-376.2
Text in vertical columns around block statue.

dd.f
i rmtw n(y) niwt.i špsywt n(y) pr Mht
dd.i n.tn di.i sdm.tn
snm ny wd k3.s

ink hm n(y) nbt pt
i(3)s n(y) pr Mht
iry ʕ3 n(y) r3-pr.s
sdm.i sprw.tn
hk3 nb n.tn msdrwy.i
wḥm(w).sn n Mht
wḥm.s n.i r dd.s nb¹⁹

sdm.(i) sprwt.tn
smt.tn hr w3t m nfr
ḥw.tn ḥw(w) m dt
pr.tn gr(w) hr bw-nfr
hrdw.tn snb(w)

¹⁸ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 35:16.

¹⁹ Relative form with "r" written in place of prothetic yod.

k3 di.tn hnkt hr drt.i
t(i) hr ʕ(wy).i rʕ nb
mh.tn [m3st.i] m wdnw
bw wn.tw.i m dbnt m tnw hb
n(y) pr Mht r df3w n(yw) rʕ nb
hʕw.s m i3w
hy bw mrr.s bin
sdm.s m sprt nb m dd(w) n.s p3 i3s

He says:

O people who belong to my town, noble ones²⁰ of Pi-Mehyt.
 May I speak to you (and) may I cause that you hear a
 prayer which her *k3* commanded.²¹

I am the servant of the lady of heaven,
 the bald one (i.e. a priest) of Pi-Mehyt,
 the doorkeeper of her temple.

I hear your requests.

Every magic spell for you is at my ears.

They are repeated to Mehyt;

she repeats all that she says to me.

I hear your petitions (namely)
 your walking in the path of happiness,
 your body being protected forever,
 your household being established in goodness,
 (and) your children being healthy.

So you shall put beer in my hand (and)
 bread in my arm(s) every day, (and)
 you shall fill [my lap] with offerings (so that)
 I am not [omitted] in the circuit at every festival
 of Pi-Mehyt in regards to the daily provisions.²²
 For she rejoices in adoration (and) furthermore,
 she does not like evil (and)
 she hears every request which the bald one speaks to her.

²⁰ The determinative suggests that noble ladies are meant.

²¹ *sdm.f* form following the genitival adjective, cf. Gardiner 1957 sec. 191 & 452.2 translated as an English relative clause. Literally rendered as “of her *k3*’s commanding.”

²² This phrase must refer to the rounds made in the temple with the daily offerings before the various deities, passing by and therefore including the statues set up in the temple as well.

NK.17

NAME:

ITHU-WESIR²³

LOCATION:

Stela reused in the funerary temple of Tuthmosis IV
in western Thebes, Ashmolean Museum E.3916

DATE:

Dynasty 18, before Tuthmosis IV

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Cumming 1984 v. III p. 325.
Helck 1961 pp. 191-2.
Petrie 1897a pp. 21-22 & pl. ix no. 1.

TEXT NK.17:

Urk. IV 1641 (no. 566)Five vertical lines above scene on stela. Text presumably
continued on lower part of stela, now missing.

dd.f
i ʿnhw tpyw-t3
wʿbw nb sšw nb
hryw-hb nb m33.t(y).sn twt pn
snn.(i) iwʿ tp t3
sh3 ...

He says:

O those who (still) live on earth,
 every pure one, every scribe, and
 every lector priest who shall see this statue,
 (my) likeness and heir upon earth!
 Remember [my name ...
 and speak a *hṭp-di-nsw* (prayer)]

NK.18

NAME:

YUA,²⁴ Chief tracker

LOCATION:

Tübingen (formerly Stuttgart), stela of Khaʿemope

DATE:

Dynasty 19, Ramesses II.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Kitchen 1993 III p. 221.

TEXT NK.18:

KRI III p. 307.11-13. Text at base of stela.

i rmtw hpr.t(y).s(n)
iww hr-s3 nn
dm rn.i ʿš3

²³ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 53:3.

²⁴ Ibid. v. I p. 55:2.

ink mty
k3 ir.tw n.tn m-mit(y)t
nht i3w w3h

O people who shall come into being,
 who come after these (times)!
 Pronounce my name often,
 for I am/was a righteous (person).
 Then one shall act for you likewise,
 being strong (with) an enduring old age.

NK.19

NAME:

WESER,²⁵ Vizier (also called Amunweser)

LOCATION:

Karnak, *3h-mnw* temple,
 block statue Louvre A.127 (E.6248)

DATE:

Dynasty 18, Tuthmosis III

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Blumenthal *et al.* 1984 pp. 400-01.
 Newberry 1899 pp. 306-8.
 PM II² p. 127.
 Schulz 1992 pp. 481-2.

TEXT NK.19

Urk. IV 1034-5 (no. 313)
 Four horizontal lines across lower part of
 front of block statue, broken at base.

dd.f
i ʿnhw tpyw-t3
hmw-ntr sšw hryw-hb
imyw-st-ʿ wʿbw hmw-k3
m3.t(y).sn twt.(i) pn
snn.(i) iwʿ(t).i tp t3
sh3.i m hrt-ntr

hs tn mr tn ntrw.tn
sw3d.tn i3wt.tn n hrdw.tn
 [mi ir.tn htp-di-nsw]
Imn-Rʿ-Itm h3 m ...

He says:

O those who (still) live on earth,
 god's servants, scribes, lector priests,
 assistant priests, pure ones, *k3*-priests,

²⁵ Ranke 1935 v.1 p. 85:6.

(all) those who shall see this statue (of mine),
(and my) likeness, my inheritance on earth,
a remembrance of me in the necropolis!

May your (local) gods praise and love you.
May you pass on your offices to your children.
[As you have made a *ḥtp-di-nsw* (prayer)]
to Amun-Ra-Atum consisting of 1000 ...

NK.20

NAME:

WESER (or AMENWESER)

LOCATION:

Theban tomb 131, stela Grenoble no. 1954

DATE:

Dynasty 18, Tuthmosis III

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Blumenthal *et al.* 1984 pp. 398-99.
Hermann 1940 pl. 4 p. 21 n. 49 & p. 40.
Kueny and Yoyotte 1979 no. 19.
Krutchen 1989 p. 188f.
Lichtheim 1992 pp. 113-4.
PM I² p. 247.

TEXT NK.20:

Urk. IV 1032-33 (no. 312)
Horizontal lines 8-12 of stela.

ḏd.f
i ḥnw tpyw-t3 sšw
ḥryw-ḥb wḥbw ḥmw-k3
m3.t(y).sn ḥḥ pn
snn.(i) iḥw(t).i tp-t3
sh3.i m ḥrt-ntr

ḥs tn mr tn ntrw.tn
ḥwn fndw.tn m ḥnh
sw3ḏ.tn i3wt.tn n ḥrdw.tn
ḏd.tn ḥtp-di-nsw Imn-Rḥ-Itm
n k3 n(y) imy-r(3) niwt
i3ty Wsr m3ḥ-ḥrw

šms.f nb.f Imn di.f m3ḥt m-ḥrt
drp.tw.f m mndwy Hr
n sk(w) rn.f dt

i3w n(y) r(3) 3ḥ n sḥ
nn nw m wrdt ḥr.s
iw.i dl.i ḥswt n nty m šwyt.i

špss.i m dm rn.i
ir.tn nn 3h n.tn
wḏ3.tn šw.tn m nkn
m shi hr.w [n].tn r ḏd.i
ink sḥ n sdm(w) n.f

He says:

O those who (still) live on earth, scribes,
 lector priests, pure ones, *k3*-priests,
 (all) those who shall see this stela,
 (and my) likeness, my inheritance on earth,
 a remembrance of me in the necropolis!

May your (local) gods praise and love you,
 may your noses be rejuvenated with life, (and)
 may you pass on your offices to your children,
 (inasmuch as) you say a *hṯp-di-nsw* (prayer) to
 Amun-Ra-Atum for the *k3* of the overseer of Thebes,
 the vizier User, justified.

For he followed his lord Amun, giving *maʿat* daily.
 He is nourished at the breasts of Horus,
 and his name cannot ever be destroyed.

The breath of the mouth is beneficial for the blessed dead
 (and) is not something under which one grows weary.
 I give favours to the one who is in my shadow.

My nobility is the pronouncement of my name.
 When you do these things, it is beneficial for you,
 you are well (and) you are devoid of injury.
 Do not be neglectful concerning that which I have said
 to you, for I am a blessed dead to whom one listens.

NK.21

NAME:

LOCATION:

DATE:

USERHAT,²⁶ Chief priest of the temple of Tutankhamun
 Scribe of the accounts of the temple of Amenophis III
 Deir el-Bahri, stela MMA 05.4.2
 Dynasty 18, Ay or Horemheb

²⁶ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 85:24.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Davies 1995 VI p. 53.
 Hays 1953 II p. 306, fig. 191.
 Helck 1961 pp. 388-9.
 PM II² p. 396.

TEXT NK.21:

Urk. IV 2076 (no. 797)
 Two horizontal lines on top of stela.

dd.f
i w^cbw h_{ryw}-h_b h_{mw}-n_{tr} ...
sw3d.tn i3wt.tn n h_{rdw}.tn
mi dd.tn [h_{tp}]-di-nsw ...

He says:

O pure ones, lector priests, and god's servants ...
 May you pass on your offices to your children
 inasmuch as you say the [h_{tp}]-di-nsw (prayer) ...

NK.22

NAME:

USERHAT, Scribe of the Treasury of Amun

LOCATION:

Karnak North, block statue from Montu temple,
 JE 91715

DATE:

Dynasty 18, Tuthmosis III-Amenophis II

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Barguet and Leclant 1954 p. 139f.
 PM II² p. 8.
 Schulz 1992 pp. 320-21.

TEXT NK.22:

Barguet and Leclant pl. 117, fig. 135.
 Three vertical lines on back and left side of block statue.

... itw-n_{tr} w^cbw nb
wnn.ty.f(y) m r(3)-pr pn

sw3d.tn i3wt.tn m s3 n s3
[mi di.tn] snw prt
m-b3h.i n k3 n(y) sš
pr-hd n(y) Imn Wsr-h^ct ...

di.tw m-mit(y)t n twt.tn
mi wd_w.n nty (r) irt mit(y)t

[O] any divine father (or) pure one,
 who shall be in this temple!

May you pass on your offices from son to son
[inasmuch as you cause] offerings to come forth
in front of me for the *k3* of the scribe of the
treasury of Amun Userhat ...

May the same thing be granted for your statue(s)
as the one who will act accordingly has ordered.

NK.23

NAME:

BAKI²⁷

LOCATION:

Stela Turin 156 (probably from Abydos)

DATE:

Dynasty 18, Amenophis III or later

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Chabas 1877 pp. 459-474.

Drioton 1922 pp. 545-564.

Lichtheim 1992 pp. 103, 127-131.

Varille 1954 pp. 129-135.

TEXT NK.23:

Varille 1954 p. 32.

Bottom three horizontal lines of stela.

sdm nn

mit(y)t ddt.n.i

i rmtt nbt wnnyw

hrw hr m3^ct m hrt hrw

m prt nn irt s3w.tn

ntr nb 3bdw

nh.f im.f r^c nb

ir.tn st 3h n.tn

sbl.tn h^cw m bnr ib

r htp(t.tn m) imnt nftr

b3.tn shm(w) m k^c prt

wstnw mi nbw nhh

ddw hft p3wtyw

Hearken to these things,
a copy of what I have spoken.

O all people who (still) exist,
be pleased with *ma^cat* daily.

²⁷ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 90:13.

It is seed without making you sated;
the god, the Lord of Abydos,
lives on it every day.

(If) you do it, it will be beneficial for you
and you will spend a lifetime in happiness
until you come to rest in the Beautiful West,
with your *bai* having the power to enter and go forth
(and) to travel freely like the lords of eternity,
who are established in front of the primaeval gods.

NK.24a-b

NAME:

LOCATION:

DATE:

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

TEXT NK.24a:

Two Appeals

BAKENKHONSU,²⁸ High priest of Amun

Karnak, block statue now in Munich,
Staatliche Sammlung Gl.WAF.38

Dynasty 19, Ramesses II

Breasted 1906 III p. 234-7.

Kitchen 1993 III p. 213.

Lichtheim 1992 p. 179.

Plantikow-Münster 1969 p. 117f.

PM II² p. 215.

Schulz 1992 pp. 428-9.

KRI III p. 297.10-12.

Vertical lines on front of block statue.

dd.f

i hmw-ntr itw-ntr

w^cbw nyw pr-Imn

imi n^chw n hntw.i kb^chw n dt.i

ink hm 3h n nb.f

gr km3 m3^ct

hrw hr m3^ct msdd isfwt

s^c3 rh ntr.f

hm ntr tpy n(y) Imn B3k-n-hnsw m3^c-hrw

He says:

O god's servants, divine fathers (and)

pure ones of the temple of Amun!

Give garlands to my statue and libation for my body.

²⁸ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 91:31.

I was a servant useful to his lord,
 a silent one who practiced *ma^cat*,
 who was content with *ma^cat* (and) who hated evil,
 one who caused knowledge of his god to increase,
 the High priest of Amun Bakenkhonsu, justified.

TEXT NK.24b:

KRI III pp. 297.16-298.3.

Vertical lines on back pillar of block statue.

i rmt nb ipw m ib.sn
wnnysw nty tp t3
liysw hr-s3.i
n hḥ n(y) hḥw m-ht i3wt khkh
nty ib.sn rḥ m m33 3ḥw

di.i rh.tn ki.i wn.(i) tp t3
m i3wt nb ir(w).n.i dr msy.i ...

O all people who reason with their minds,
 who exist, and who are on the earth,
 who will come after me, being as
 a million of millions after an advanced old age,
 whose minds are skilled in perceiving abilities!

May I let you know my nature when I was on earth,
 in every office which I held since my birth ...

NK.25a-b

NAME:

LOCATION:

DATE:

Two Appeals

PANEHSY, High priest of Aten

Amarna tomb no. 6

Dynasty 18, Akhenaten

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Davies 1903 v. II p. 30.

Murnane 1995 p. 172.

TEXT NK.25a:

Davies 1903 v. II pl. vi & Sandman 1938 p. 25 (xxi).
 Thickness of outer wall, east side.

dd.f
i w^c [nb nty m] 3ḥt-itn
3bw ḥ^cw nfr

sḏd.i n.tn n3 nfrw
irw n.i p3 ḥk3
di.f šb.(i) srw smrw
sʿ3.kw (hr) tri
mtr.i šb(w) srw
gm.tw.i m rh-nsw Rʿ

hm.f [kd] nmḥ
n hss.f
ir(w) srw m k3.f
š3y dd ʿnh nb wddwt

snb.tw tw.f m ḥtpw
t3 nb hr ršw
[hʿw] m pr-nsw
hpr wsrw m ʿh

He says:

O everyone [who is in] Akhetaten,
 (and) who desires a good lifetime!

Let me relate to you the good deeds,
 that the ruler did for me.

He let (me) mix with the officials and courtiers,
 so that I was promoted and respected.
 My renown mingled with the officials (and now)
 I am found as a royal acquaintance of Ra.

His Majesty has [built up] the poor man
 into one whom he favours.
 Officials are made by means of his *k3*,
 the fate that gives life, the lord of what is allotted.

One is well when he is content.
 Every land is laden with joy when
 (there is) [rejoicing] in the king's house,
 and strength comes to be in the palace.

TEXT NK.25b:

Davies 1903 v. II pl. 21 line 3 & Guksch 1994 p. 176.
 Ceiling inscription in first room of tomb.

i wʿ nb nty m 3ḥt-itn
[sḏd.i n.tn n]3 nfrw
ir(w) n.i p3 ḥk3 p3y.i nb
dit.f n.i nbw m ḥswt ...

O everyone who is in Akhetaten!
 [Let me relate to you] the good deeds
 that the ruler, my lord, has done for me,
 what he gave to me being a gold of honour...

NK.26

NAME: PANEKHUEMTAWY, Stone-finisher
 LOCATION: Abydos, stela JE 21801
 DATE: Dynasty 19, Ramesses II

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gaballa 1972 pp. 135-7 & pl. XXVII.
 Kitchen 1993 III p. 333.

TEXT NK.26: KRI III p. 469.4-7.
 Eight vertical lines before man at right on stela.

*i hmw-ntr w^cbw hryw-hb
 m33 št3 n(y) R(3)-st3w
 stt mw m t3 dsr
 sw3yw m^ch^ct n(y) Wp-w3wt*

*s3w.tn r ntr pn ntr
 mr m3^ct bwt.f grg
 hh mw m rn.f ^cš3
 im tn hm r nw ... Wp-w3wt
 n k3 n(y) s3ktl P3-n-hw-m-t3wy*

O god's servants, pure ones, and lector priests,
 who see the mysteries of the necropolis,
 who pour out water to the sacred land,
 who pass by the offering chapel²⁹ of Wepwawet!

May you watch out for this god, a god
 who loves truth, falsehood being his abomination.
 Water is missing from his many names.
 Be ye not ignorant concerning these ... of Wepwawet
 for the k3 of the stone-finisher Panekhuemtawy.

²⁹ Literally "building with a stela" or cenotaph (CDME p. 105).

NK.27

NAME: PARAMESSES,³⁰ Troop commander (later Ramesses I)
 LOCATION: Karnak, 10th Pylon, scribal statue JE 44864
 DATE: Dynasty 18, Horemheb

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Davies 1995 VI: 89.
 Legrain 1914 pp. 29-31.
 PM II² p. 188.
 Scott 1989 pp. 454-8.

TEXT NK.27: Urk. IV 2176 on the base of the statue.

dd.f
i hmw-ntr nyw pr-Imn
srw n(y) pr-nsw
ii nb r šms nb W3st
r rdit i3w n k3.f

dd.tn n.i htp-di-nsw
kʰh.tn n.i drt.tn
kbh.tn n.i mw hr s3tw
k3 ir.tw n.tn m mit(y)t
m-ht i3w rnpt [ʳš3]

n k3 n(y) iry-pʳt m t3 r dr.f
imy-r(3) niwt t3ty P3-Rʳ-ms-sw m3ʳ-hrw
ir.n s3b hry-pdt Sty m3ʳ-hrw

He says:

O god's servants of the temple of Amun,
 nobles of the royal household, and
 any who come to follow the lord of Thebes
 (and) to give adoration to his *k3*!

May you say a *htp-di-nsw* (prayer) for me.
 May you extend your hand for me.
 May you pour water on the ground for me.
 So will be done for you likewise,
 after an old age of [many] years.

For the *k3* of the hereditary noble in the entire land,
 the city governor, and vizier Paramesses, justified,
 born of the dignitary and troop commander Sety, justified.

³⁰ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 114:14.

NK.28

NAME:

PAHEMNETJER,³¹ High priest of Ptah

LOCATION:

Saqqara, statue JE 89046

DATE:

Dynasty 19, Ramesses II

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Gaballa 1974 pp. 21-24.

Kitchen 1993 III p. 298.

TEXT NK.28:

KRI III p. 411.13-412.3.

Vertical lines 2-5 of inscription on right side of statue.

dd.f
i wr hrp hmwt
smw itw-ntr w^cbw
hryw-w^cbw hryw-hb m r(3)w-pr
sš nb n(y) md3t-ntr
‘nhyw wnyw tp t3
ity nb [m-ht] rnpwt³²

hsy tn ny-swt n(y) h3w.tn
htp.tn hr isy.tn m t3 dsr
mi dd.tn htp-di-nsw
h3 m tiw hnkwt k3w 3pdw
mnht šs ms[dm]t] ...
ht nbt nfrt w^cbt ‘nhit ntr im.sn
di.tn n.i sntrw hr sdt ...
dm.tn rn.i hr irt n.i ir(w) n [m3^ct nb] ...

He says:

O great one who controls craftsmen,³³
sem-priests, divine fathers, pure ones,
 master of pure ones and lector priests in the temples,
 every scribe of the sacred scroll,
 those who (still) live, who (still) exist on earth,
 (and) everyone who comes (here) years afterward!

May the king of your time favour you.
 May you rest in your tomb(s) in the sacred land,
 inasmuch as you say a *htp-di-nsw* (prayer) of
 1000 bread, beer, beef, fowl, clothing,
 alabaster (and) black eye-paint ... (and)
 everything good and pure on which a god lives
 (and) as you place incense on the fire for me ...

³¹ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 115:16.

³² Gaballa (1974 p. 24) suggests a restoration of something like “*r is pn wr.tn m rnpwt*,” which translates as “everyone who comes to this tomb, may you be great in years.”

³³ Title of the high priest of Ptah at Memphis.

may you pronounce my name while doing for me
that which is done for [any just man] ...

NK.29

NAME:

PAHERY,³⁴ Scribe of the treasury and
mayor of el-Kab and Esna

LOCATION:

El-Kab tomb no. 3

DATE:

Dynasty 18, Tuthmosis II and Hatshepsut(?)

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Lichtheim 1976 pp. 15-21.
PM V p. 180 (10-11).
Sottas 1913 p. 77.
Tylor & Griffith 1894 pp. 27-31 & pl. 9.

TEXT NK.29:

Urk. IV 120.12-123.14.
Horizontal lines at end of the inscription on back wall of
tomb, which was shaped like a large round-topped steal
with central niche. All one Appeal, but divided into three
sections here because of the length.

dd.f
sdmw ir.f tn ntyw m hpr
dd.i n.tn nn grg im

i ʿnhw wnnyw
wrw rmtw tpyw-t3
hmw-ntr wʿbw iryw.sn
sš nb šsp gsty
šš3 hr m mdw-ntr
ikr nb n(y) smdt.f
tni r(3) m ʿbʿ wnwtf
hsy tn Rʿ nb nhḥ
Nḥbt ḥd Nḥn
ntyw nb mnḥ(w) m l3t.f

He says:

Listen to it, you who are (still) in existence.
I speak to you without falsehood therein.

O those who (still) live, who (still) exist,
great ones, people (still) on earth,
god's servants, pure ones (and) their attendants,
every scribe who carries a palette,

³⁴ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 115:24.

who is skilled in the hieroglyphic script,
 anyone excellent of his subjects,
 distinguished of speech in boasting of his service!
 Ra the lord of eternity will favour you (and also)
 Nekhebet, the white one of Nekhen, and
 whoever is effective in his office.

sw3d.tn n hrdw.tn
mi dd.tn htp-di-nsw
m snt r-nt(y)t m sšw
prt-hrw m dd tpyw-^c
mi prrt m r(3) n(y) ntr

k^ch.t(y).fy nb m drt.f
hpr.f m shrw m3^ct
irt mi hpr mi nt(y)t r hpw
smtr hnty wd pn

h3.k m t(i) h3.k m hnkt
hfnw m bw nb nfr
m3^c(w) w^cb n Wsir
h3ty-^c n(y) Nh3b h3ty-^c n(y) Twnyt
mh-ib n(y) imy-r(3) htmty m t3 hnty
sš ikr n tp-hs P3-hry m3^c-hrw

May you pass on to your children
 inasmuch as you speak the *htp-di-nsw* (prayer)
 in accordance with what is in writing, (and)
 an invocation offering as (our) ancestors said
 like what came forth from the mouth of a god.

Anyone who shall extend his hand,
 he will be in a condition of *ma^cat*.
 To bear witness in front of this stela is
 to act as it instructs according to law.

Your thousands of bread, thousands of beer, and
 hundreds of thousands of everything good
 are offered pure to the Osiris,
 Mayor of el-Kab and Esna, confidant
 of the overseer of the seal on the southward journey
 an excellent scribe of reckoning Pahery, justified.

ḏd.i n.tn di.i rh.tn
šdt is pw nn prw.f
nn shwri nn shwn im.f
nn ḥ3tyw pw ḥnḥ ky
nn 3ḥbt nt ḥwrrw m 3t.f
mdwt ndmt n(y)t sd3y-hr
n s3.n ḥ3t(y) m sdm.s(n)

t3w n(y) r(3) n wnm.n.tw
nn shs nn wrd im.f
nfr n.tn ir.tn st
gm.[tn] ... ḥsy.tn

wn.i m t3 pn n(y) ḥnhw
nn iwḥw n ntr r.i
ḥpr.kw m [3ḥ] ḥpry
smnh.n.i st m hrt-ntr
ḥrwt.i m-ḥ m ht nbt
n tm.i wšby sp.sn

it pw sḥ n(y) ir n.f
n hm.n.f stt n.f mw
nfr sdm.tn

Let me say to you that I may cause that you know.
 It is a recitation without its expense,
 without causing poverty, without a dispute about it.
 There is no fighting with another (person).
 There is no oppression of the poor man in his moment,
 (just) pleasant words of amusement,
 with which a heart can never be tired of hearing.

The breath of the mouth one cannot eat;
 there is no hurry, no weariness in it.
 It is good for you when you do it.
 May you find [that you are benefited] and favoured.

When I was in this land of the living,
 there was no wrongdoing to a god against me.
 I became an equipped [3ḥ-spirit]
 I established a place in the necropolis,
 my requirements in everything being with me,
 so that I shall not ever fail to answer.

The blessed dead is the father of the one who acts for him.
 He does not forget the one who pours water for him.
 The fact that you listen is good.

NK.30

NAME: PASER,³⁵ Vizier
 LOCATION: Deir el-Bahri, Montuhotep temple
 Statue Philadelphia UM E.534+
 DATE: Dynasty 19, Ramesses II

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kitchen 1993 III p. 14.
 PM II² p. 395.

TEXT NK.30: KRI III p. 17. Right side of statue.

dd.f
i hmw-ntr w^cbw nyw 3h-st
sš nb šš3w m sšw

hsy tn Imn-R^c h[3w.tn]
di.tn htpt m-b3h.i
k^ch.tn n.(i) d[rt.tn]
[mn] rn.tn m mit(y)t
m-ht i3w w3h

He says:

O god's servants and pure ones of 3h-st,³⁶
 and every scribe who is skilled in the writings!

May Amun-Ra favour you and [your relations]
 (as) you place offerings in front of me.
 May you bend your hand for me (so that)
 your name may remain likewise
 after an enduring old age.

NK.31a-b

NAME: Two Appeals
 PASER, Vizier
 LOCATION: Deir el-Bahri, Hatshepsut temple
 Seated pair statue CG 561
 DATE: Dynasty 19, Ramesses II

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Borchardt 1911-1936 (CGC 77) II p. 107 & pl. 95.
 Lichtheim 1992 pp. 177-8.
 Kitchen 1993 p. 16.
 PM II² p. 375.

³⁵ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 117:12.

³⁶ Name for the Dynasty 11 funerary temple of Nebhepetre Montuhotep at Deir el Bahri (Page 1976 p. 57).

TEXT NK.31a:

KRI III p. 20. Appeal on right side of seat.

dd.f
i ʿnhyw hr t3
hry-hb nb sš nb
wʿb nb hm-k3 nb
sw3.t(y).sn hr twt.i pn

d3t.tn n.i ʿwy.tn
di.tw n.i htp m-b3h.i
mi m3ʿty nb
n k3 n(y) P3-sr m3ʿ-hrw

He says:

O those (still) living on earth,
 every lector priest, every scribe,
 every pure one, every k3-priest,
 who shall pass by this statue of mine!

May you extend your two arms for me,
 so that an offering may be placed
 in front of me as (for) any just man,
 for the k3 of Paser, justified

TEXT NK. 31b:

KRI III p. 20. Appeal on left side of seat.

dd.f
i hmw-ntr itw-ntr
iw.sn hr-s3 iry

hsy tn Imn-Rʿ Hwt-hr nbt dsrt
mi dd.tn htp-di-nsw hr rn n(y)
imy-r(3) niwt t3ty P3-sr m3ʿ-hrw

He says:

O god's servants and divine fathers,
 when they come hereafter!

May Amun-Ra and Hathor, lady of Djesert,
 favour you inasmuch as you say a htp-di-nsw (prayer)
 in the name of the mayor and vizier Paser, justified.

NK.32a-b

NAME:

Two Appeals

LOCATION:

PASER, Vizier

DATE:

Theban tomb 106

Dynasty 19, Seti I and Ramesses II

BIBLIOGRAPHY:PM I² pp. 219-224.

Kitchen 1993 pp. 237 & 244.

TEXT NK.32a:

KRI I p. 290.5-9.

Southern stela on tomb exterior (very damaged).

*dd.f**i rmtw Twnw šm3w**wrw m-b3h štyt ...**... ib r mdw-ntr**iy nb r krs m htp**r gswy is.i**dm.tn rn.i wr.wy**nn hm.tn wi ...*

He says:

O people of southern Heliopolis (i.e. Thebes)

and great ones before the *štyt*-shrine ...

... [I am one skilled] of mind concerning the divine words.

Everyone who comes to (this) burial in peace

-- on either side of my tomb --

may you pronounce my doubly great name.

May you not forget me ...

TEXT NK.32b:

KRI I p. 299.13-15.

Pillar B, face 'A' in broad hall of tomb.

*dd.f**... smrw wrw ʿh**šnywt imywt pr-nsw**... n.tn m hr.tn m šhrw n(y) ntr nfr**w3d ... i3w nfr**ph.n.(i) nn hr irt m3t n ntr.i**... di.f n.(i) st hr imy-wrt**imnt(y) hf(t) ...**hr w3d Imn-Rc p3 ntr w3d ...*

He says:

[O] ... companions and great ones of the palace,
 courtiers who are in the king's house,
 ... to you in your face with the counsels of the good god.
 [How] fortunate is [one who attains to] a good old age!
 I have attained these things by performing *ma'at* for my god
 ... that he might give to me a place on the other side,
 the west, opposite ...
 under the command of Amun-Re, the god who decrees ...

NK.33

NAME:

PASHEDU,³⁷ Servant in the Place of Truth

LOCATION:

Deir el-Medina Hathor temple,
 block statue Cairo temporary no. 11.4.64.1

DATE:

Dynasty 20, Ramesses III

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Bruyère 1953 pp. 29-30.
 PM I² p. 692.
 Schulz 1992 pp. 325-6.

TEXT NK.33:

Bruyère 1953 pp. 29-30.
 Bottom 2 of 6 horizontal lines across back of block statue.

i rmtw nb ʿnhw hr t3
nty n hnt m tp t3 nb

imi di.w mhy kbh m-b3h.i
ink p3 s(i) nhm
sš nb n(y) mdw-ntr
nty iw.w dm rn m-b3h.s

di.sn imnt(y)t n hnty nfr
sdm-ʿš st m3ʿt hʿ-m-ipt

O all people who (still) live one earth,
 who belong to the Lady³⁸ in the whole earth!

Grant that garlands and libations be placed
 in front of me, for I am a man of jubilation,
 a scribe, a master of hieroglyphic writing,
 whose name is proclaimed in her presence.

³⁷ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 119:13.

³⁸ Presumably referring to Hathor as patron deity of west Thebes.

May they grant the west to the beautiful statue of
the servant of the Place-of-Truth (Deir el-Medina)
Khaemope (Pashedu's son).

NK.34

NAME: PAY, Overseer of the Royal Harim
LOCATION: Abydos (?),³⁹ stela BM 156
DATE: Dynasty 19, Ramesses II

BIBLIOGRAPHY: HT v.9 pp. 32-33.
Kitchen 1993 III p. 147.
PM I² p. 808 as from Thebes, Dynasty 20.

TEXT NK.34: HT v.9 pls. 28-28a and KRI III p. 210.10-11.
Horizontal line at bottom of stela.

dd.f
i rmtw nb ʿnh tp t3
sš nb šdd mdwt tn
šs3-ḥr m mdw-nṯr
sh3(w) rn.f m st nhḥ
hsy tn nb 3bdw

He says:
O everyone who (still) lives on earth,
every scribe who reads out this message,⁴⁰
(and) who is skilled with the hieroglyphic script!
May his name be remembered in the place of eternity
(and) may the lord of Abydos (Osiris) favour you.

NK.35

NAME: PATTISY, Scribe of the nome(?)
LOCATION: Tell el-Baqlih (Delta Hermopolis),
block statue no. 26 in Mansura Inspectorate
DATE: Dynasty 19, Ramesses II

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bakry 1969 p. 229f.
Schulz 1992 p. 327.
Zivie 1975 pp. 61-64.

³⁹ British Museum 1970 p. 32 says that the stela was described in the sale catalogue (Sotheby 17 July 1845) as being from Abydos, but suggests that it may be from Memphis, whereas PM I² p. 808 suggests it was from Thebes.

⁴⁰ Written as a plural which would literally translate as "your words."

TEXT NK.35:

Zivie 1975 p. 62.

Four horizontal lines on left side of block statue.

dd.f
i hmw-ntr itw-ntr
w^cbw hryw-hb
m33.sn twt.i
dd.sn rn.i
dm.sn rn.i

He says:

O god's servants, divine fathers,
 pure ones, and lector priests,
 (all) those who see my statue!
 May they speak my name!
 May they proclaim my name!

NK.36

NAME:

PUYEMRE,⁴¹ Second prophet of Amun

LOCATION:

Theban tomb 39

DATE:

18th Dynasty, Tuthmosis III

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Davies 1922 pp. 36-39 & pl. 20.
 Manuelian 1994 pp. 14-15.
 PM I² p. 71.

TEXT NK.36:

Davies 1922 pl. 20, lines 7-11.

ir swt rmtw nb ss nb
rh nb nds nb tw3 nb
k.(ty).sn r is pn
m3.t(y).sn nt(y)t im.f
mk.t(y).sn ss.f
twr.t(y).sn n hntyw.f
dd.t(y).sn htp-di-nsw
h3 t(i) hnkt k3w 3pdw
h3 m htpt-df3w
h3 m ht nb(t) nfrt w^cbt
n k3 n(y) nb is pn
it-ntr Pw-im-R^c pn m3^c-hrw
iw.f r i3w n(y) niwt.f
im3hy n(y) sp3t.f
hr ntt ink s^ch ikr

⁴¹ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 130:23.

Now as for everybody, every scribe,
 every knowledgeable person,
 every commoner, and everyone of low status,
 who shall enter this tomb,
 who shall see what is in it,
 who shall protect its inscriptions,
 who shall respect its statues,
 who shall say a *hṭp-di-nsw* (prayer of)
 1000 bread, beer, beef, and fowl,
 1000 food offerings,
 1000 of everything good and pure
 for the *k3* of the owner of this tomb,
 this divine father Puyemre, justified.
 He will be an elder of his town and
 a revered one of his nome,
 because I am an excellent blessed dead.

NK.37

NAME:

PTAHMOSE,⁴² Divine father of Ptah

LOCATION:

Saqqara, statue Leiden Rijksmuseum AST 23 (D45)

DATE:

Dynasty 19, Ramesses II

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Boeser 1913 p. 10f. & pl. 11, 45a-c.
 PM III² p. 728.
 Schulz 1992 p. 351.

TEXT NK.37:

KRI III p. 416. Horizontal lines on right side of
 block statue below engraved scene.

*dd.f**i wr hṛp(w) ḥmw**nty m pr Pth**smn inbw iry**dd.tn rwi.n**hnty.i hr m33 nb nhḥ**it-ntr Pth-ms*

He says:

O great one who controls the craftsmen⁴³
 who are in the temple of Ptah!

⁴² Ranke 1935 v. I p. 140:9.

⁴³ Title of high priest of Ptah at Memphis.

Make firm the walls thereof.
May you say “let us depart” (when)
my statue sees the lord of eternity,
the divine father Ptahmose.

NK.38

NAME:

PTAHMOSE, High priest of Memphis

LOCATION:

Memphis, Ptah temple (?), block statue
Florence Museo Archaeologico 1790

DATE:

Dynasty 18, Amenophis III

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Bosse-Griffiths 1955 pp. 60-63 & pl. XV.
Davies 1994 V: p. 711.
Helck 1961 pp. 317-8.
PM III² p. 727.
Schulz 1992 pp. 150-151.

TEXT NK.38:

Urk. IV 1917.7-1918.2.

Three of four vertical lines on back pillar of block statue.

dd.f

i wr hrp hmw nb

hprw.t(y).sn m hwt Pth-skr

hstw tn Pth nfr-hr

mn.tn m r(3)-pr.f

šsp.tn k3w.f r^c nb

3h hb.tn imy šht

ndm-ib.tn snb mrwt

sh3.tn nh šhm.tn m(w)t

sbi.tn wd.tn m htp

iw^c.tn mn(w) hr nst.tn

hstw tn n(y)-swt n(y) rk.tn

ndm-ib.tn m ity

mi dd.tn htp-di-nsw

Pth-skr rsy inb.f

di.f prrt nbt hr wdhw m [k3w 3pdw]

hnkt mrht mnht šs w3dw msdt

n wr hrp hmw Pth-ms m3^c-hrw

He says:

O every great one who controls craftsmen, (i.e.)
those who create in the temple of Ptah-Sokar!
May Ptah fair-of-face favour you.

May you be established in his temple.
 May you receive his provision every day.
 May your plough which is in the field be useful.
 May you be joyful and may the servants be healthy.
 May you remember life and may you forget death.
 May you send your command in peace.
 May you inherit so as to be established in your position.
 May the king of your time favour you.

May you be joyful over the sovereign
 inasmuch as you say a *hṭp-di-nsw* (prayer)
 to Ptah-Sokar south-of-his-wall.
 May he give everything that comes forth
 from the offering table consisting of [beef, fowl],
 beer, oil, cloth, alabaster, green and black eye paint
 to the great one who controls craftsmen Ptahmose, justified.

NK.39

NAME:

MENKHEPERRESONEB,⁴⁴ called Menkheper

LOCATION:

Theban tomb no. 79 (great stela text)

DATE:

Dynasty 18, Tuthmosis III- Amenophis II (?)

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Guksch 1995 pp. 153-155.
 Helck 1961 p. 486.
 Lichtheim 1992 pp. 174-5.
 PM I² p. 156.
 Virey 1891 v.2 pp. 330-31.

TEXT NK.39:

Urk. IV 1997 similar to Urk. IV 1515.
 Three horizontal lines of 36 on stela on end wall
 to right of transverse hall as you enter the tomb.

dd.f
i nḥw [tpyw-t3]
[wnn]yw nḥw (r) nḥh ḥnty [dt]
w^cbw ḥryw-ḥb nyw Wsir ḥnty-imntyw
šs3 nb m mdw-nṯr

ḥk.sn r is.i sw3š.sn ḥr.f
šd.sn m [wḏ.i s]ḥ3.[s]n rn.i
ḥs tn [nṯr.tn niwty]
sw3ḏ.tn i3wt.tn n [hrdw.tn]

⁴⁴ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 150:15.

[*m-ht i3w w3h*]

mn s3 hr nst it.f
m hswt ntr niwty nb
nh n.sn R m hrt Wsir m r-[st3w]
[mi] dd.tn htp-di-nsw [Imn] ...
n k3 n(y) wcb n(y) [Imn] m hnkt-nh
Mn-hpr

He says:

O those who (still) live [on earth],
 [who] exist alive forever and [ever],
 pure ones and lector priests of Osiris
 foremost-of-the-westerners,
 any who are skilled in the hieroglyphic script!

When they enter my tomb, may they pay honour to it (and)
 when they read [my stela], may they remember my name.
 May [your local god] favour you.
 May you pass on your offices to [your children]
 [after an enduring old age].

May a son remain on the seat of his father and
 be in the favour of every local god.
 May Ra live in heaven and may Osiris
 (live) in the netherworld for them,
 [inasmuch as] you say a *htp-di-nsw* (prayer to Amun)
 for the *k3* of the pure one of Amun in *hnkt-nh*
 Menkheper.

NK.40

NAME:

LOCATION:

DATE:

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

TEXT NK.40:

MENMESU,⁴⁵ Overseer of god's servants of Montu
 Medamud, east court of temple of Montu,
 block statue Louvre E.12985
 Dynasty 18, Tuthmosis III and Amenophis II

Drioton 1926 pp. 52-56.
 Helck 1961 pp. 98-101.
 PM V p. 142.
 Schulz 1992 p. 458.
Urk. IV 1445 (no. 437)

⁴⁵ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 152:4.

Vertical lines of text at end of statue's inscription
on the right front of the statue.

*i hmw-ntr w^cbw hryw-hb
 ḥsy tn Mntw nb W3st
 sw3d.[tn i3wt].tn n ḥrdw.tn
 mi dd.tn ḥtp-di-nsw
 ḥ3 m ḥt nbt nfrt w^cbt
 n k3 n(y) sš-nsw ... [Mn-msw m3^c-ḥrw]*

O god's servants, pure ones and lector priests!
 May Montu lord of Thebes favour you.
 May [you] pass on your [offices] to your children
 inasmuch as you say a *ḥtp-di-nsw* (prayer)
 (consisting of) 1000 of everything good and pure
 for the *k3* of the royal scribe ... [Menmesu, justified].

NK.41

NAME:

MERYENPTAH,⁴⁶ Charioteer and royal scribe

LOCATION:

Nebesheh (East Delta), block statue now in private
collection (New York City?)

DATE:

Dynasty 19, Ramesses II

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Petrie 1888 pl. 11 no. 16.
 PM IV p. 8.
 Schulz 1992 pp. 249-50.

TEXT NK.41:

KRI III pp. 247-8.
 Horizontal lines on left side of block statue.

*dd.f
 tw.i r-rwty ^ct šps
 n(y)t nbt t3wy
 w^cb nb imy-3bd.f
 hry-hbt hm-ntr
 imi snw-t3 sntr kbḥ
 n p3 wršy Mr-n-ptḥ*

He says:

I am one outside the noble chamber⁴⁷
 of the Mistress of the Two Lands.

⁴⁶ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 156:22.

⁴⁷ Reading uncertain, Griffith in Petrie 1888 p. 30 suggests "one near the noble portico? (of the temple)." This passage refers to the original location in the temple where the statue was erected.

Any pure one who is in his month,
(any) lector priest or god's servant,
give obeisance, incense, and libation
to the watchman Meryenptah.

NK.42

NAME: MERYPTAH,⁴⁸ Steward of the royal mortuary temple
LOCATION: Saqqara, stela Leiden V14 (upper part),
London UC 14463 (lower part)
DATE: Dynasty 18, Amenophis III

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Boeser 1913a pl. 15 (no. 27).
Bosse-Griffiths 1955 pl. XIV.
Davies 1994 V: p. 56.
PM III² p. 712.

TEXT NK.42: Urk. IV 1910.14-18.
On ledge above cavetto cornice.

*dd mdw
i shꜥ nb sꜥ nb wꜥb nb
hry-hb nb swꜥ.sn hr is pn*

*hsy tn [Imn] pꜣty hpr sp tpy
swꜥd.tn iꜣwt.tn n hrdw.tn
m-ht iꜣw wꜥh
mi dd.tn htp-di-nsw
hꜣ m ht nbt nfrt wꜥbt
n kꜣ n(y) hm-ntr imy-r(ꜣ) pr Mry-ptḥ*

Words spoken:

O every inspector, every scribe, every pure one,
and every lector priest when they pass by this tomb!

May [Amun] the primaeval god, who came into being
at the First Occasion, favour you (and)
may you pass on your offices to your children
after an enduring old age
inasmuch as you say a *htp-di-nsw* (prayer, i.e.)
1000 of everything good and pure
for the *kꜣ* of the god's servant and steward Meryptah.

⁴⁸ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 161:19.

NK.43

NAME: NEBAMUN, Steward of royal wife Nebtu
 LOCATION: Theban tomb 24 (Dra Abu el-Naga)
 DATE: Dynasty 18, Tuthmosis III

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bouriant 1887 pp. 95-99.
 PM I² p. 42.

TEXT NK.43: Urk. IV 151.9-152.3
 On right hand side (east) as you enter the tomb chamber.

*sdmw ir.f tn ntyw m hpr
 ddt.n.(i) nn grg im*

*i ʿnhw wnnyw
 wrw rmtw tpyw-t3
 hmw-ntr wʿbw hryw-hb
 d3d3t n(y)t Ipt-swt
 sš nb šsp gsty
 šs3 hr m mdw-ntr
 ikr nb n(y) smdt.f
 tni r(3) m ʿbʿ wnwtf
 hs tn Rʿ nb nhh
 Imn p3wty t3wy*

*sw3d.tn n hrdw.tn
 mi dd.tn htp-di-nsw
 h3 m t(i)w h3 m hnkt
 hfnw m bw-nfr wʿb
 [ʿnh ntr im]
 n k3 n(y) lmy-r(3) pr n(y) hmt-nsw
 Nb-Imn m3ʿ-hrw hr ntr ʿ3 hk3 dt*

Listen to it, you who are (still) in existence!
 What I have spoken is without falsehood therein.

O those who (still) live, who (still) exist,
 great ones, people (still) on earth,
 god's servants, pure ones, and lector priests,
 magistrates of Karnak,
 every scribe who carries a palette and
 who is skilled in the hieroglyphic script,
 anyone excellent of his subjects,
 distinguished of speech in boasting of his service,
 may Ra the lord of eternity favour you (and also)
 Amun the primaeval god of the Two Lands.

May you pass on to your children
 inasmuch as you speak the *htp-di-nsw* (prayer, i.e.)
 1000 bread, 1000 beer, and
 hundreds of thousands of everything good and pure
 [on which a god lives]
 for the *k3* of the Steward of the royal wife
 Nebamun, justified by the great god, ruler of eternity.

NK.44

NAME:

LOCATION:

DATE:

NEBWAU,⁴⁹ Scribe of the funerary temple of Tuthmosis I
 Deir el-Bahri, graffito in small cavity on cliff
 Ramesside⁵⁰

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Marciniak 1981 pp. 283-291.
 Morschauser 1991 p. 108.
 Nordh 1996 p. 13.

TEXT NK.44:

Marciniak 1981 p. 284.
 Horizontal lines 8-11 on ceiling.

dd.f
ir sš nb rmtw nb
nty iw.f šd sš pn
gm.f ... m3^c-hrw
sw3d i3wt.f (n) ḥddw-šrt

hr ir rmtw nb nty iw.f r thi wd pn
ibi.f ir.tw š^cd.f
wn.(f) m 3d rmtw nb

He says:

As for any scribe (or) any person
 who shall read aloud this inscription,
 may he find ... justified and
 may he pass on his offices to (his) children.

Now as for any person who shall damage this stela,
 may he be thirsty, may he be cut down, and
 may (he) be in the wrath of everyone.

⁴⁹ Ranke 1935 v. I p.184:5.

⁵⁰ Philips (1986 p. 79 n.25) argues paleographically for a date at the end of Dynasty 18.
 Morschauser (1991 p. 198) says that the "malediction is typical of the Ramesside Period" and suggests that it dates after the reign of Ramesses VI.

NK.45

NAME: NEBWAUWY,⁵¹ High priest of Osiris
 LOCATION: Abydos, stela CG 34018
 DATE: Dynasty 18, Tuthmosis III and Amenophis II

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Breasted 1906 II pp. 74-5.
 Cumming 1984 II pp. 179-80.
 Frood 2003 p. 70.
 Lacau 1909-1957 (CGC 45) pp. 37-8.

TEXT NK.45:

Urk. IV 1495.13-18.
 Last four horizontal lines on stela.

ḏd.f
ỉ ʿnhw tpyw-tʒ
wʿbw hryw-hb imyw-st-ʿ
itw-ntr nyw r(ʒ)-pr pn
wnwt hwt-ntr mi kd.s
swʒ.t(y).fy nb hr wd pn
šd.t(y).sn im.f

hs tn mr tn Wsir hkʒ dt
mi ḏdt.tn tʒw ndm n(y) mht
r fnd n(y) hm-ntr tpy n(y) Wsir
Nb-wʿ.wy mʒʿ-hrw hr Wsir

He says:

O those who (still) live on earth,
 pure ones, lector priests, acolytes,
 and divine fathers of this temple,
 the entire priesthood of the temple,
 everyone who shall pass by this stela,
 and who shall read aloud from it!

May Osiris the ruler of eternity favor and love you
 inasmuch as you say: "May a sweet breath of the north
 wind be at the nose of the high priest of Osiris
 Nebwawy justified before Osiris."

⁵¹ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 184:6.

NK.46

NAME: NEBNEFER,⁵² official of the Temple of Amun
 LOCATION: Thebes, statue from temple of Prince Wadjmose
 (son of Tuthmosis I), now in Brussels E.1103.
 DATE: Dynasty 18, Amenophis III

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Capart and Spiegelberg 1902 pp. 162-7.
 Davies 1994 V: p. 44.
 Helck 1961 pp. 300-1.
 PM II² p. 444.

TEXT NK.46: Urk. IV 1884.15-18. On left side of the seat.

dd.f
ir hm-ntr w^cb ktw
nty tm kbh n p3 twt n(y)
[hryw h3w n(y) Imn]
[Nb-nfr s3-nsw W3d]-ms
(hr) h3.f m dr.f

He says:

As for a god's servant, a pure one, (or) another
 who will not make a libation to the statue of
 [the keeper of the measurements of Amun]
 [Nebnefer, Prince Wadj]mose
 fights him with his hand.⁵³

NK.47

NAME: NEBSUMENU,⁵⁴ Chief steward
 LOCATION: Theban tomb 183
 DATE: Dynasty 19, Ramesses II

BIBLIOGRAPHY: PM I² pp. 289-90.

TEXT NK.47: KRI III p. 185.
 Bandeau on east side of right wall in long hall.

dd.f
i hmw-ntr itw-ntr
w^cbw hryw-hb
nty nb hr irt hnty.sn m-hnw pr-Imn

⁵² Ranke 1935 v. I p. 185:18.

⁵³ Helck has restored the determinative so as to read "opposes him in writing."

⁵⁴ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 186:8.

šmsw hr t3 r m33'Imn
m ḥb.f nfr m int
šwtwt ib.sn m int špst ...

He says:

O god's servants, divine fathers,
 pure ones, lector priests, and
 all who perform their tasks within the Temple of Amun,
 who serve on earth in order to see Amun
 in his beautiful Valley festival (so that)
 their hearts may walk about in the noble valley ...

NK.48

NAME:

NEFERMENU,⁵⁵ Mayor of Thebes

LOCATION:

Theban tomb 184 (Khokha)

DATE:

Dynasty 19, Ramesses II

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Kitchen 1993 p. 109.
 Lichtheim 1992 p. 178.
 PM I² pp. 290-1.

TEXT NK.48:

KRI III p. 163.5-6.
 Bandeau of inner hall.

dd.f
i ḥmw-ntr itw-ntr
w^cbw ḥryw-ḥb
nty nb hrt irt hnty.sn m-ḥnw pr-Imn
šmsw hr t3 r m33'Imn
m ḥb.f nfr m int
šwtwt.sn m int špst ...

He says:

O god's servants, divine fathers,
 pure ones, lector priests, and
 all who perform their tasks within the Temple of Amun,
 who serve on earth in order to see Amun
 in his beautiful Valley festival (so that)
 they may walk about in the noble valley ...

⁵⁵ Ranke 1935 p. 196:21.

NK.49

NAME: NEFERRENPET⁵⁶
 LOCATION: Stela Louvre C108 (from Abydos?)
 DATE: Dynasty 19

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bakry 1969 p. 237.
 Sottas 1913 pp. 55f.

TEXT NK.49: Bakry p. 237.

dd.f
i w^cbw sšw hry-ḥb itw-ntr
kyw hr ntr imy 3bdw

ih šd.tn m mdwt nfr(wt)
nty mn hr rn.i
k3 hs tn Wsir nb 3bdw

ir rmt nb nty iw.sn r mnmn m wd pn
hn^c is ir(w).n.(i)
h^c.f m-b3h Dhwtj n wd^c(w) st m3^ct

He says:
 O pure ones, lector priests, and divine fathers,
 who shall enter upon the god who is in Abydos!

May you please recite the good words
 which remain concerning my name.
 Then Osiris the lord of Abydos will favour you.

As for any people who shall disturb this stela
 together with the tomb that I have made,
 may he stand before Thoth, (but) not be judged true.

NK.50

NAME: NEFERHOTEP,⁵⁷ Master of servants
 LOCATION: Thebes (Gurna), stela CG 34057
 DATE: late Dynasty 18 (?)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Lacau 1909-1957 (CGC v.45) pp. 101-5.

⁵⁶ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 197:18.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* v. I p. 198:14.

TEXT NK.50:

Lacau 1909-1957 (CGC v.45) p. 103.
Horizontal lines 14-16 between the two scenes.

dd.f
i ʿnhw nbt tp t3
itw-ntr wʿbw hry-hb nbw
sš nb whʿ drt.(f)
m33.tn šps (pn)
hsy tn ntr pn špsw
ʾImn nb nsty t3wy

sw3d.tn i3wt.tn n hrdw.tn
m-ht iʿw w3h
mi dd.tn htp-di-nsw
hr rn n(y) ʾImn nb nsty t3wy
di.f ssn ndm n(y) mhyt
n k3 n(y) hry m mrt Nfr-htp

He says:

O those who (still) live on earth,
all divine fathers, pure ones, and lector priests,
every scribe skilled with (his) hand,
when you see (this) noble (monument)
may this august god favour you, (namely)
Amun lord of the twin thrones of the Two Lands.

May you pass on your offices to your children
after an enduring old age,
inasmuch as you speak a *htp-di-nsw* (prayer) in the
name of Amun lord of the twin thrones of the Two Lands.
May he give the sweet breath of the north wind
to the *k3* of the Master of servants Neferhotep.

NK.51a-c

NAME:

LOCATION:

DATE:

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Three Appeals

NEFERSEKHERU,⁵⁸ Chief royal steward

Zawyet Sultan (or Zawyet el-Mayetin) in

Middle Egypt, north of Beni Hasan

Dynasty 19

Osing 1992 pp. 46 & 75.

⁵⁸ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 200:3.

TEXT NK.51a:

Osing 1992 pl. 35. West wall of cult chamber.

dd.f
dd.i n.tn wnyw tpyw-t3
nty r hpr
w^cbw špsw nsw
... [wh^c-ib m d]rf
m is.i imy M3-hd

hh ibw.tn hft sš pn
dd.tn m dd.wy m ir hr n ...

He says:

Let me speak to you, those who (still) exist on earth,
 those who will (yet) come into being,
 pure ones, royal followers, ...
 (those) [who are skilled in the wr]itings
 in my tomb in the Oryx nome!

May your minds seek according to this inscription.
 May you say “how enduring” and steer toward ...

TEXT NK.51b:

Osing 1992 pl. 44, vertical inscription on
 south statue on east wall in cult chamber.

dd.f
i sšw nb [‘nh] tp t3
wh^cyw mdw-ntr
hmwwy m k3wt Mhy
dd drf r st.f
‘kyw m sšw Dhwtj
tsw mdwt
ipyw m b3k tit
mhi hr sš
i3kbyw n šm m htp
rmyw n im3h

i3yw htp-di-nsw
n hsy hnm m hwt.f

He says:

O all scribes, [who live] on earth,
 who understand the hieroglyphic script,
 craftsmen in the work of Mehy (i.e. Thoth),
 who put writing in its (correct) place,

who enter into the writings of Thoth
and the phrases of speech,
who are expert in the fashioning of images,
who take thought for texts,
who mourn for those gone in peace,
who cry for the blessed one!

(Give) praises and a *hṭp-di-nsw* (prayer)
for the one who is enclosed in his funerary chapel.⁵⁹

TEXT NK.51c:

Osing 1992 pl. 43, vertical inscription on
north statue on east wall in cult chamber.

rmṭw nb(w) iw.ty.sn
d3mw imyw-ḥt nhḥ

iḥ mḥi.tn nt(y)t hnty.i
(m) is.i šps šsp.(i) r ʿnh
n.i imy kd.f pw 3bwt.i
dd.tn r.f m-ḥt m3n.f
hft sw3 ḥr ḥwt.i

t3w n fnd.k Nfr-shrw m3ʿ-ḥrw
kbḥ n k3.k
ʿnh b3.k
rwd ḥ3t.k
dd rn.k tp t3
sh3.k n hrw nfr
dww nb ḥr-r.k
iry.tw n.tn m sn(t) r.s
in ntyw ḥr-s3.tn
n k3 n(y) sš-nsw m3ʿ mr nb.f
Nfr-shrw m3ʿ-ḥrw

All people who shall come (here),
generations who are later (in) eternity!

May you concern yourself with my statue
(in) my noble tomb, (my) likeness according to life
that belongs to me, its shape being (that of) my family.
When you see it, may you speak to it (the statue)
while passing by my funerary chapel:

⁵⁹ The text continues with a long series of epithets of the god Thoth, whose favour is sought for anyone who desires to enjoy himself in my tomb near Hebnu (*3bb nb ʿd3y-ḥr.f m is.i k(r) ḥbnw*).

“Breath to your nose, Nefersekheru, justified
 and a libation for your *k3*.
 May your *bai* live.
 May your corpse persist.
 May your name endure on earth.
 May you remember the happy day.
 May all evil be far from you.
 May it be done to you as (is done)
 by those who are later (in time) than you
 for the *k3* of the true royal scribe, whom his lord loves
 Nefersekheru, justified.”

NK.52

NAME:

NEFERU, Priest of Amun

LOCATION:

Abydos (or Thebes?), stela Leiden V38

DATE:

Dynasty 18, Amenophis III

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Boeser 1913a pl. X no. 15
 Davies 1994 V: p. 75.

TEXT NK.52:

Urk. IV 1951.13-1952.3.*dd.f**i ʿnhyw tpyw-t3**mrryw ʿnh msddyw hpyt**hs.tn mry.tn ntrw.tn niwtyw**sw3d.tn i3wt.tn n hrdw.tn**ḳrs.tw.tn m-ht i3w**mi dd.tn htp-di-nsw**[Imn nb nswt t3wy]**Wsir nb 3bdw**'Inpw hnty sʿh-ntr**di.sn h3 m t(i) hnkt**h3 m k3w 3pdw ss mnht**h3 m sntr mrht**h3 m hnkt rnpt nbt**h3 m ht nb(t) nfrt wʿbt ʿnht ntr im(w)**n k3 n(y) wʿb ibh n(y)**[Imn] hr s3 tp**rmn m-h3t [Imn] m hbw.f nbw**Nfrw m3ʿ-hrw**ir(w).n s3-nsw tpy n(y) [Imn] 'Ipw m3ʿ-hrw*

He says:
O those who (still) live on earth,
who love life and who hate death!

May your local gods favour you and love you,
may you pass on your positions to your children,
may you be buried after (an advanced) old age,
inasmuch as you say a *hṭp-di-nsw* (prayer) to
[Amun lord of the thrones of the Two Lands],
Osiris lord of Abydos, and
Anubis foremost of the divine booth.

May they give 1000 bread and beer,
1000 beef, fowl, alabaster, and clothing,
1000 incense and unguent,
1000 offerings of every (kind of) vegetation,
1000 of everything good and pure on which a god lives
for the *k3* of the pure one and libationer of
[Amun] in the first phyle,
a supporter at the front of Amun at all of his festivals,
Neferu justified,
born of the first king's son of Amun, Ipu justified.

NK.53

NAME:

NAKHTMIN, High priest of Min and Isis
Akhmim, stela Louvre C55 (Great stela text)⁶⁰

LOCATION:

DATE:

Dynasty 18, Ay and Horemheb

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Cumming 1984 II: p. 204.
Hermann 1940 p. 50.
PM V p. 22.

TEXT NK.53:

Urk. IV 1536f. and Hermann 1940 p. 53*.

dd.f
i ʿnhw tpyw-t3
wṇnyw ʿnh r nhḥ dt
wʿbw hryw-ḥb nyw Wsir
šs3 nb m mdw-nṯr

⁶⁰ The great stela text is also on stela Berlin 2074 from Akhmim, but the Appeal is not preserved.

*ḥk.sn r is.i sw3š.sn ḥr.f
šd.sn m wd.i šh3.sn rn.i
bn ir.tw 3bw
m-b3ḥ nbw m3^ct*

*ḥs tn ntr.tn (niwty)
sw3d.tn i3wt.tn n ḥrdw.tn
m-ḥt i3w w3ḥ
mi dd.tn ḥtp-di-(nsw) Wsir
(n) imy-r(3) k3wt m t3 ḥwt
[ḥpr-ḥprw-r^c ir(w) m3^ct]*

*mn mnw m st nhḥ
ḥ3ty-^c ḥm-ntr tpy Mnw 3st
Nḥt-mnw nb im3ḥ*

He says:

O those who (still) live on earth,
who exist alive forever and ever,
pure ones, lector priests of Osiris,
any who are skilled in the hieroglyphic script!

When they enter my tomb, may they pay honour to it.
When they read my stela, may they remember my name.
No cessation will be made
in the presence of the possessors of *ma^cat*.

May your (local) god favour you,
may you pass on your positions to your children
after an enduring old age,
inasmuch as you say a *ḥtp-di-nsw* (prayer to) Osiris
for the overseer of works at the (funerary) temple of
[Ay].⁶¹

May (this) monument endure in the place of eternity.
The mayor and high priest of Min and Isis
Nakhtmin, possessor of veneration.

NK.54

NAME:

LOCATION:

NAKHTMIN, Overseer of Granaries of Egypt
Theban tomb 87 (Gurna),
seated statue in Egyptian Museum, Cairo.

⁶¹ A literal translation of the name would be “the manifestations of Ra have come into being, who performs *ma^cat*.”

- DATE: Dynasty 18, Tuthmosis III
- BIBLIOGRAPHY: Daressy 1894 p. 43.
PM I² p. 179.
- TEXT NK.54: Urk. IV 1185 (no. 348)
Fragmentary inscription on seat of broken statue.
- dd.f m mdwt hr msw.f*
wnn.t(y).sn hr nswt.f
... p3wt.f tp t3
- drp m-b3h hnty.i*
m hwt.i
... hbw m-h3w hr imnywt
- nfr r.f ...*
[tm].sn mhy hr ddt.n.i
hsf ntr m ib ...
- He speaks with words to his children,
who shall exist in his positions ...
his ancestors/primaeval ones on earth.
- Make offering in the presence of my statue
in my funerary chapel
... festivals in excess of daily offerings.
- Good ...
That they not be neglectful of what I have said.
God opposes the heart ...

NK.55

- NAME: RAHOTEP,⁶² Vizier
- LOCATION: Saqqara, stela JE 48845
- DATE: Dynasty 19, Ramesses II
- BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kitchen 1993 III p. 37.
PM III² p. 665.
- TEXT NK.55: KRI III p. 55. Main text lines 9-10.

⁶² Ranke 1935 v. I p. 219:15.

dd.f
i hryw-hb
tsw n(y) hpw nh wḥm n(y) Pth

ih di.tn hr.tn tnw
iw.tn (n) p3 hrt n(y) hpw
r hwt nhḥ n(y) imy-r3 niwt
t3ty R^c-htp
r irt sntrw kbḥw
r dd n k3.k n rn.k
t3ty R^c-htp hr.tn r^c nb

He says:
 O lector priests,
 supporters of the living Apis, herald of Ptah!

May you please give heed, every time
 you come to the tomb of Apis,
 to the house of eternity of the city governor
 and vizier Rahotep,
 to perform censuring, libation,
 to speak for your *k3* and for your name,
 the vizier Rahotep, so may you say daily.

NK.56

NAME: ROMA-ROY,⁶³ High priest of Amun
 LOCATION: Karnak, block statue CG 42185
 DATE: 19th Dynasty, Amenemesses

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Legrain 1909 pp. 49-52.
 Lefèbvre 1929 p. 4f.
 PM II² p. 146.
 Schulz 1992 pp. 278-79.

TEXT NK.56: KRI IV p. 130.9-10.
 Two of nine vertical columns of block statue's right side.

di.f mn rn.i hr hnty.i
r-gs mnw pn
ir(w).n.i m pr.f
sh3.tw rn.i
hr.sn n(y) m-ht nhḥ

⁶³ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 222:9.

*hsy wi d3mw nty r hpr
 swb.sn wi hr nfrw.i
 mi tnr.i*

May he (Amun) cause that my name remain on my statue,
 on the side of this monument
 which I have made in his temple.
 May my name be remembered
 by those of later eternity (i.e. future generations).

May the generations which will come favour me.
 May they extol me on account of my goodness
 as well as my strength.

NK.57

NAME:

ROMA-ROY, High priest of Amun

LOCATION:

Karnak, block statue CG 42186

DATE:

19th Dynasty, Amenemesses

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Legrain 1909 p. 52.
 Lefebvre 1929 p. 18f.
 Lichtheim 1992 pp. 179-180.
 PM II² p. 146.
 Schulz 1992 pp. 280-81.
 Vandier 1958 p. 453f., pl. 151.6.

TEXT NK.57:

KRI IV p. 209.11-14.
 Two of 3 vertical lines on back pillar.

*dd.f
 i hmw-ntr itw-ntr w^cbw
 3yw nyw pr-Imn
 d3mw 33yw nty r hpr*

*imi [n^chw n hnty.i]
 [kbhw] n k3.i
 sh3 rn.i m-hrt-hrw
 ir htp-di-nsw n hnty.i
 mi w3h-ib.(i) r irt 3hw n Imn
 Mwt Hnsw-m-[w3st Nfr-htp]*

He says:

O god's servants, divine fathers, pure ones,
 great ones of the temple of Amun, and
 the many generations who will come!

Give [garlands to my statue]
 [and libations] to my *k3*.
 Remember my name daily and
 make a *htp-di-nsw* (prayer) to my statue,
 because I was kind in performing good deeds for Amun,
 Mut, and Khonsu-in-[Thebes, Neferhotep].

NK.58a-b

NAME:

Two Appeals

LOCATION:

ROMA-ROY, High priest of Amun

DATE:

Karnak, east end of 8th Pylon19th Dynasty, Seti II

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Lefèbvre 1929a pp. 32-39.

Lepsius 1972 Abt. iii 237.

Lichtheim 1992 p. 180.

PM II² pp. 177-8.

TEXT NK.58a:

KRI IV p. 288.10-13.

Section of large commemorative inscription
 at east end of pylon over entrance to staircase.

*dd.f**i w^cbw sšw n(y) pr-Imn**sdmw-^cš nfrw n(y) htpw-ntr**rthtyw ^cthw iryw-bnr**irw kw snt bit psn**irrw [hwt].sn nb n nb.sn**nty iw.sn r ^ck r w^cbt pn nty m-hnw**[pr-Imn] ...**dm rn.[i m]-mnt m sh3 nfr**swh n.i hr nfrw.i mi tnr.i ...*

He says:

O pure ones, scribes of the temple of Amun,
 perfect servants of the god's offerings,
 bakers, brewers, confectioners,
 makers of different types⁶⁴ of bread loaves,
 those who perform all their tasks for their lord,
 those who will enter this workshop which is in
 [the Temple of Amun] ...

⁶⁴ Specified as *kw*, *snt* and *bit* loaves.

Pronounce my name daily as a perfect memorial.
Boast of me on account of my good and might deeds ...

TEXT NK.58b:

KRI IV p. 289.2-8.

imm hr.tn sdm i.ddwt.i
m ir th i.irwt.i nb
swd3 rn.i s3 spw.i
i.dd n.i hs m-b3h Imn
hr hs.f tn 3 mi ir.f ...

[ph.tn] i3w m pr.f
k3w.f hn.c.tn
sw3d.tn n msw.tn
wc s3 wc m pr.f r dt

imm htpw m-b3h hnty.i
tj hr t3 n rn.i
imm nhw m-b3h.i hft k.tn

i.dd n.i
hs.f tw m ib mr
n ntr.i Imn nb ntrw
hr di.tw n.tn kt ht
nty r ...

imm sd(w) sš
r ir.t(w) mi
ddwt.i nty m-b3h.tn
imm rn.i nfr m r3 n(y) d3mw
mi ir.i 3hw
m pr-Imn m sp nb

Pay attention, listen to what I say!
Do not neglect anything I have accomplished.
Keep my name safe, glorify my deeds and
speak praise for me before Amun, then
he will favour you greatly, as he does ...

[May you reach] old age in his house.
May his sustenance be with you.
May you pass on (your position) to your children,
one son to (another) one in his house forever.

Place offerings in front of my statue and
pour out (libations) on the ground for my name.
Place garlands in front of me when you enter (the temple).

Speak for me:

“May he favour you with a loving heart”
to my god Amun, lord of the gods.
Then other things will be given to you
that ...

Cause that the writing [on this statue?] is read aloud
so that one may act according to that which
I have said that is in front of you.
Place my good name in the mouth of (future) generations
in accordance with my performing benefactions
in the temple of Amun on every occasion ...

NK.59

NAME:

REKHMIRE,⁶⁵ Vizier

LOCATION:

Theban tomb 100

DATE:

Dynasty 18, Tuthmosis III and Amenophis II

BIBLIOGRAHY:

Davies 1943 p. 43.
Gardiner 1925 pp. 62-76.
Hodel-Hoenes 2000 p. 14.
PM I² p. 206 (3).

TEXT NK.59:

Urk. IV 1083.13-1085.7 and
Davies 1943 pl. XII lines 40-45.
Last five horizontal lines of inscription on left (south)
end wall of transverse hall in tomb.

imi wd3 ib.tn wnnyw ...
‘nhw ntyw (m) hpr
sš nb ikr šs3 m sšw
šd,t(y).fy m sšw
[sdm.ty.fy m] ib.f
spd nst wb3 hr ...
sb3(w).n imy-r(3) r irt mi hpr
sr̥f-ib w3h-ib kn m ndnd
r̥h-ht pw nb sdm.t(y).fy
ddt.n tpyw-‘w h3t-‘

hs tn ntrw nyw niwt.tn
n(y)-swt [imy h3]w.f [htpw n].tn
sw3d.tn i3wt n msw.tn
m-ht ‘h‘ 3w nn h3w ... ib

⁶⁵ Ranke 1935 v.1 p. 226:9.

spr.tn hrt.[tn] n(y)t hrt-ntr
nh[w nyw niwt]
tpyw-t3 hr šms-wd3
[ith tn] nfrt n(y) hs3t
[swbw] mtnw m irtt.sn
hnm.tn [tpht tn] imyt nhh
m dmi n(y) m3t niwt iw grt
nn fh rnw.tn ...

wd3 snty.[tn m st] iry
mi dd.tn htp-di-nsw [Imn]-Rc
Itm šw Tfnt Gb Nwt Wsir
Hr Mhnty-n(y)-irty
Šth 3st Nb-hwt Dhwtj sty Rc ...

May your heart prosper, those who (still) exist ...
 who (still) live, those who have come into being,
 (namely) every excellent scribe skilled in the writings,
 who shall read aloud among the inscriptions, and
 [who shall understand with] his mind,
 sharp-of-tongue, open-faced, ...
 whom an overseer has trained to act as (it) happens,
 deliberate, patient, powerful in counseling.
 A learned man is anyone who shall hear
 what the ancestors of the beginning (time) said.

May the gods of your town favour you (as)
 the king [who is in] his time [is pleased] with you.
 May you pass on (your) positions to your children
 after a long lifetime without excess ...

May you attain your tomb of the necropolis,
 (with) the citizens [of (your) town],
 who are (still) on earth at (your) funeral procession.
 May the cattle of Hesat [pull you] ...
 [making pure] the roads with their milk.
 May you enter [this cavern] which is in eternity
 in the abode of *ma^cat*, a town that is silent.
 May your names not be destroyed ...

May your likeness prosper [in the place] thereof,
 inasmuch as you say a *htp-di-nsw* (prayer) to [Amun]-Ra,
 Atum, Shu, Tefnut, Geb, Nut, Osiris,
 Horus, *Mekenty-en-irty* (ferryman of two eyes),
 Seth, Isis, Nephthys, Thoth, the deputy of Ra ...

NK.60

NAME: HUY,⁶⁶ Lord mayor and steward
 LOCATION: Memphis statue
 DATE: Dynasty 19, Ramesses II

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Badawi 1944 pp. 202-6.
 Kitchen 1993 III p. 114.

TEXT NK.60: KRI III p. 169. Text on back pillar of standing statue.

dd.f
i rmtw nb iw.t(y).sn
hr-s3 hh n(y) rnpwt

dd.i n.tn di.i rh.tn
hr mnḥ.i hr ib n(y) hm.f
iry.i hwt ... bḥnwt ʿ3wt n(y) inr ʿnw
sb3w m dꜥmw
wsh mnw phr.ti m-b3ḥ.s ...

He says:
 O all people who shall come (here)
 after a multitude (lit. millions) of years!

I am speaking to you that I may cause that you learn
 that I was pleasing to the mind of His Majesty.
 I made the temple ... great pylons of Tura limestone,
 doorways (covered) in electrum and
 a monumental broad hall traverses in front of it ...

NK.61

NAME: HATRE, Overseer of gold workers
 LOCATION: Heliopolis, Temple of Re (?)
 DATE: Block statue Louvre E.25550
 Dynasty 18, Amenophis III

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Cenival 1965 pp. 15-20.
 Schulz 1992 pp. 467-8.

TEXT NK.61: Helck 1975 pp. 136-7 (no. 145)

dd.(f) hr tpyw-t3
hmnw r(3)-pr pn

⁶⁶ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 232:18.

ink ḥmw ʿk
lrty n(y) šmʿw mḥw

k3t ʿwy.i ph(w) n 3bw
mḥty m t3rw
m mnw ir(w).n ḥm.f
n ʿImn m st tn
n Hr nb pt nb Msn
n W3dt m ʿImt

(He) says to those who are (still) on earth,
 (and to) the servants of this temple:
 “I am a craftsman who had the entrée to
 the two eyes of Upper and Lower Egypt.”

The work of my hands reached to Elephantine
 (in the south, and in the) north to Tjaru
 in the monuments that His Majesty made
 for Amun in this place,
 for Horus, lord of heaven, lord of Mesen,
 (and) for Wadjet in Nebesheh.

NK.62

NAME:

LOCATION:

DATE:

HUYSHERY,⁶⁷ Treasury scribe in Seti I temple at Qurnah
 Thebes(?), stela Stockholm National Museum no. 25
 Dynasty 19, Seti I (?)

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Kitchen 1993 pp. 270-1.
 Lichtheim 1992 pp. 66-67.
 Mogensen 1919 pp. 64-66.

TEXT NK.62:

KRI I 332.16-333.2. Horizontal lines 5-7 on stela.

dd.f
dd.i n.tn rmtw n(y) m-ht
ḥpryw hr-s3.i

ink wʿ ikr kbḥ (srf)
rdiw m3ʿt m ib.f
nn wny sp.s
pr.n.i m ht
3bḥ.st m ib.i ...
rḥ.kw ḥtp ntr.i hr.s

⁶⁷ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 233:20.

ḥnh.fim.s rḥ nb

*in wḥ ikr mty m3ḥ
nn sm3(w).n.f m ...*

He says:

I am speaking to you, people of later (times),
who have come into being after me!

I am one who is excellent and cool-(tempered)
one who placed *maḥat* in his mind,
without neglecting her occasion;
when I came forth from the womb,
she was (already) mingled with my mind ...
I know that my god is at peace with her,
and lives for her every day.

So says the uniquely excellent and truly exact one,
who did not associate with [the evil-doer] ...

NK.63

NAME:

HORMIN,⁶⁸ Chief of royal harim at Memphis

LOCATION:

Memphis, statue Leiden D38

DATE:

Dynasty 19, Seti I and Ramesses II

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Kitchen 1993 p. 256.

TEXT NK.63:

KRI I p. 314.14. Text on back of statue.

*i rmtw nbw rhyt nbwt sš nb
nty iw.sn r m33 n hnty pn
ih dd.sn h3 m t(i) hnkṯ
n nb is pn
n k3 n(y) sš-nsw
imy-r(3) ipt-nsw Hr-Mn*

O all people, all commoners,⁶⁹ (and) every scribe,
who shall see this statue!

⁶⁸ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 253:3.

⁶⁹ The writing of *rhyt* is influenced by the word *try-pṯt* (Lesko DLE I p. 261), which is how Kitchen (1993-1999 v. I p. 256) interprets the group. The writing of *try-pṯt* omits the “p” however. Interpreting the straight arm (Gardiner D36) as a miswriting of the arm with the flail (Gardiner G43) with the phonetic value *hw*, an acceptable rendering of *rhyt* is obtained. Based on the three *nb* signs, I have read only three substantives (*rmtw*, *rhyt* and *sš*). R.J. Leprohon’s suggestion (personal communication) that the group could represent two substantives (both *try-pṯt* and *rhyt*) is certainly feasible.

May they please say 1000 bread and beer
for the owner of this tomb and
for the *k3* of the royal scribe,
superintendent of the royal harim Hormin.

NK.64

NAME: HERIHOR,⁷⁰ High priest of Amun
LOCATION: Thebes, statue CG 42190
DATE: Dynasty 20, Ramesses XI

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Lefèbvre 1926 pp. 63-68.
Legrain 1909 p. 59 & pl. 52.
PM II² p. 67.

TEXT NK.64: RKI VI p. 844.2-3 and Lefèbvre 1926 p. 65.
Horizontal inscription around statue base.

dd.f
ir rmt nb nty iw.f (r) rwi p3y twt
hr st.f m-ht rnpwt knw
iw.f m b3w n(y) Imn Mwt Hnsw
bn hpr rn.f m p3 t3 n(y) Kmt
iw.f⁷¹ r mwt.f n(y) hkr n(y) ibw

He says:

As for any man who will remove this statue
from its place (even) after many years,
he is in the power of Amun, Mut and Khonsu.
His name will not come into being in the land of Egypt.
He will die of hunger and thirst.

NK.65

NAME: KHAEMWASET,⁷² Prince
LOCATION: Saqqara, statue base from Serapeum
DATE: Dynasty 19, Ramesses II

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gomaa 1973 p. 81 no. 37.
Quibell 1912 pp. 45-6.
PM III² p. 704.

⁷⁰ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 253:10.

⁷¹ Writing mistakenly with flat *m* (Gardiner Aa15)

⁷² Ranke 1935 v. I p. 263:19.

TEXT NK.65:

KRI II p. 879.15-16.

Horizontal lines 2-3 on right side of statue base.

dd.f
i ḥmw-ntr ḥryw-ḥb nbw
[irw] ḥt m ḥwt-ntr n(y)
ḥpw ḥnh tp dw3t nb

[imm] n.i kbḥ sntr
ḥnk n.i ḥwy.tn
sh3 rn.(i) m ḥtp-di-nsw
ḥr t3 ḥ3wt ḥwt-ntr

iw ir.(i) mrr Pth
ink 3ḥ(w).n k3.f
sḥḥ.n.(i) pr.f ḥwt-ntr.f ...

He says:

O all god's servants and lector priests,
 who perform ritual in the temple of the
 living Apis every morning!

[Give] to me libation and incense.
 Present for me your two arms.
 Remember (my) name with a *ḥtp-di-nsw*
 (prayer) on the altar of the temple.

For I have done what Ptah loves.
 I am one whom his *k3* has glorified.
 I have established his estate and his temple...

NK.66

NAME:

KHAEMHAT,⁷³ Royal scribe and overseer of the granary

LOCATION:

Theban tomb 57

DATE:

Dynasty 18, Amenophis III

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Davies 1994 V pp. 27-28.
 Lichtheim 1992 pp. 122-4.
 PM I² p. 117 (16).
 Varille 1941 pp. 601-6.

⁷³ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 264:2.

TEXT NK.66:

Urk. IV 1845.8-1846.3. On right hand side of passage connecting the outer and inner halls.

dd.f hr rmtw hpr.t(y).sn
hryw t3 m wrw kityw
sš nb wh^c(w)[-ib] drf
spdw-hr m mdw-ntr
wnfw-ib k3w m rh
htpw hr spw m 3ht
sw3.t(y).sn hr hwt tn
ir.n.(i) hnt 3hw
gmh.t(y).sn r s3wt.i
šd.t(y).sn m tsw.i

hs mr tn n(y)-swt-bity
sbi.tn im3h m htp
nn sndt nn sdm hryt
hnm tn ršwt ndm-ib m hrt n(y) r^c nb
sdm n.tn ntrw niwtyw.tn sprt.tn nb
mi dd.tn šh3.i
m-n Hr nfr dm rn.i
hr ir(w).n.i

dd.k3.tn htp-di-nsw [Imn]
Itm Hr-3hty Pth-skr Wsir Inpw
irty šm^ct mht
n k3 n(y) mh-ib n(y) ntr nfr
sš-nsw imy-r(3) šnwt y n(y)
nb t3wy m šm^c mhw
H^c-m-h3t m3^c-hrw

He says to (those) people who shall come into being,
 those (still) on earth, (both) great and small,
 every scribe who is capable of writing,
 who is skilled in the hieroglyphic script,
 who rejoices and is accurate in knowledge,
 who is content with deeds of benefit,
 who shall pass by this tomb chapel
 that I have made for an abode of the 3_h spirits
 who shall look upon my walls and
 who shall read aloud my speeches.

May the king of Egypt honour and love you,
 may you attain a revered state in peace,
 without fear and without hearing terror.
 May happiness and joy enfold you daily,
 may your local gods grant to you all your petitions

inasmuch as you cause my remembrance by the
good Horus and that my name be pronounced
because of what I have accomplished.

So you shall say a *htp-di-nsw* (prayer) to [Amun]
Atum, Harakhty, Ptah-sokar, Osiris, Anubis (and)
the two conclaves of Upper and Lower Egypt
for the *k3* of the confidant of the good god,
the royal scribe and overseer of the granary of the
lord of the Two Lands of Upper and Lower Egypt,
Khaemhat, justified.

NK.67

NAME:

KHETEF, Marine standard-bearer

LOCATION:

Stela Louvre C95

DATE:

19th Dynasty, Ramesses II

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Kitchen 1993 III pp. 188-9.

TEXT NK.67:

KRI III p. 265. Text at base of stela.

dd.f
dd.i n.tn
rmṯw nbt ᵑnhy hr t3

ink ḥ3ty-ᵑ n(y) mšᵑ nsw
tpy n(y) ᵑ(t) p3y.f itrt
nṯsw <tw> m-b3ḥ hm.f
r nn shrw nb n ᵑ(w)
ḥnw n(y)-swt m sktt-nsw
m3ᵑ(?)s m tp n(y) t3y.f mḥnty⁷⁴

ir.f⁷⁵ dm.i rn.f
sw3[ḥ].i wsr m-b3ḥ.f
ḥs.kw

He says:

Let me speak to you,
all people who are (still) living on earth!

I am a leader of the royal forces,
the best of the gang (at) his row,⁷⁶

⁷⁴ Strange writing, apparently in retrograde.

⁷⁵ Written with a g (Gardiner W11), apparently in confusion with the particle *grt* (Gardiner 1957 sec. 255).

one summoned before His Majesty
for all these preparations to arm(s),
one who rows the king in the royal boat,
steering it as the chief of his boatmen.

As for him (the king), I proclaim his name
and glorify power in his presence, (and in turn)
I am favoured.

NK.68

NAME:

SOBEKHOTEP⁷⁷

LOCATION:

Medinet el-Fayum, Temple of Sobek
Block statue Marseille 208 (Musée Borély)

DATE:

Dynasty 18, Amenophis III

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Charles 1960 p. 1f.
Schulz 1992 p. 414.

TEXT NK.67:

Urk. IV 1588 (no. 521)

dd.f
i ʿnhw tp(yw)-t3
itw-ntr wʿbw hryw-hb
wnwt mi-kd.s

hs tn Sbk šdty Hr hry-ib šdt
[mi] dd.tn htp-di-nsw
h3 m ht nbt nfrt wʿbt
n k3 n(y) h3ty-ʿ n(y) š rsy š mhty Sbk-htp
ir(w).n s3b h3ty-ʿ K3p m3ʿ-hrw
ms(w).n nbt-pr Mryt m3ʿ-hrw

He says:

O those who (still) live on earth,
divine fathers, pure ones, lector priests,
the entire priesthood (of the temple)!

May Sobek of Crocodilopolis and Horus
who resides in Crocodilopolis favour you,
[inasmuch] as you say the *htp-di-nsw* (prayer)
(consisting of) 1000 of everything good and pure
for the *k3* of the mayor of the Fayum

⁷⁶ Presumably meaning something like Kitchen 1993 III p. 188 “foremost in his ranks.”

⁷⁷ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 305:6.

(southern and northern lake) Sobekhotep,
whom the judge and mayor Kap justified fathered,
born of the lady of the house Meryt justified.

NK.69a-b

NAME:

Two Appeals

LOCATION:

SENEMIAH,⁷⁸ Overseer of all that grows

DATE:

Theban tomb 127

Dynasty 18, Tuthmosis III

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Bouriant 1890 pp. 174-79.

PM I² p. 242 (9).

TEXT NK.69a:

Urk. IV 508.15-510.4

Stela on right end wall of transverse hall.

[i] *ḥnw nbw tpyw-t3*
ḥmw-ntr w^cbw ḥryw-ḥb
d3d3t n(y)t 'lpt-swt
sš nb šsp mnḥd
šs3 ḥr m mdw-ntr
ḥmw ...

ḥs [tn R^c nb nḥḥ]
[Imn] p3wty t3wy
Mntw ... m st.f nb
Pth-Skr nb št3yt
'Inpw ḥnty s^cḥ-ntr
nty nb mnḥ m i3t.f

sw3d.tn n ḥrdw.tn
[mi dd.tn ḥtp-di-nsw]
[m snt r-nt(y)t m] sšw
prt-ḥrw m dd [tpyw-]

[k^ch.ty.fy] nb m drt.f
ḥpr.f m [šhrw m3^ct]
... m mtrw
nisw irf tn

mk wi ḥr sdm dd.t(y).fy nb m ḥnw.y.i
ḥ3.[k m t(i) ḥ3.k m ḥnkt]⁷⁹
[ḥfnw m bw nb nfr]
[m3^cw w^cb] n Wsir Sn-m-i^cḥ

⁷⁸ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 305:6.

⁷⁹ Restored from the Appeal of Pahery, Urk. IV 121.9-13.

[O] those who (still) live on earth,
 god's servants, pure ones, lector priests,
 and magistrates of Karnak,
 every scribe who carries a palette,
 who is skilled in the hieroglyphic script,
 craftsmen ...

May [Ra the lord of eternity] favour you (and also)
 [Amun] the primaeval god of the Two Lands,
 Montu ... in his every place (and)
 Ptah-Sokar, lord of the *št3yt*-sanctuary,
 Anubis foremost of the divine booth (and)
 anyone who is effective in his position.

May you bequeath to your children
 [inasmuch as you speak the *htp-di-nsw* (prayer)]
 [in accordance with what is in] writing, (and)
 an invocation offering as (our) ancestors said.

Anyone who shall extend his hand,
 he will be in a condition of *ma^cat*.
 ... as a witness (namely)
 those who make invocation, indeed yourselves.

Look, I can hear everything he shall say with my two ears,
 (namely) [your] thousands of [bread, your thousands of
 beer, (and) hundreds of thousands of everything good,
 which are offered pure] to the Osiris Senemiah.

TEXT NK.69b:

Urk. IV 510.7-512.5

Stela on right end wall of transverse hall.

ḏd.i di.i rh.tw
 [šdt is pw] nn prw.f
 [nn šhwri nn šhwn] im.f
 nn ḥ3tyw pw hn^c ky
 nn 3^cbt n(y)t ḥwrw m 3[t.f]
 [mdwt ndmt n(y)t sd3y-ḥr]
 [n s]3.n ḥ3t m sdm.s(n)

t3w n(y) r(3) nn is ...
 [nn šhs nn wrd im.f]
 [nfr n.tn] ir.tn st
 gm.tn m ḥst.tn
 wn.i m t3 pn n(y) ḥnhw
 n ir.i šntt [ntr] ...

[nn] wsf.i dsy m hrw.f
 nn srh.tw.i in [rmtw nb]
 ... r s3

di.n.i t(i)w n iwtu n.f
 hm.n.i ib m ibt.f
 ir.n.i mit(y)t hr ntyw im(w)
 ... smnh.n.i prt-hrw t(i) hnkt
 ... ntr
 n fh.n.(i) wsb irt

it pw s^ch n(y) ir(w) n.f
 [n hm.n.f s]tt n.f mw
 nfr sdm.[tn st]

Let me say that I cause that one knows (things).
 [It is a recitation] without its expense,
 [without causing poverty, without a dispute] about it.
 There is no fighting with another.
 There is no oppression of the poor man in his moment,
 [just pleasant words of amusement],
 with which a heart is never tired hearing.

The breath of the mouth ...
 [There is no hurry, no weariness in it].
 [It is good for you] when you do it.
 May you find (it) coming to meet you.

When I was in this land of the living,
 I did not act so that a god suffered.⁸⁰
 never did I neglect the beer jar on his day.
 Never was I accused by [anybody]
 ... in order to be wise.

I have given bread to the one who has none.
 I have quenched the thirsty one from his thirst.
 I have acted the same way towards those within
 ... I have established invocation offerings of bread and beer
 ... god
 I have not failed the one who answers
 (for) what was done ...

The blessed dead is the father of the one who acts for him.
 [He does not forget the one who] pours water for him.
 The fact that [you] hear [it] is good.

⁸⁰ According to a suggestion from G.E. Kadish (personal communication)

NK.70

NAME: SENENMUT,⁸¹ Chief steward
 LOCATION: Karnak, block statue BM 1513
 DATE: Dynasty 18, Hatshepsut

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Dorman 1988 p. 189.
 Meyer 1982 pp. 29, 112-120 & Taf. 2.
 PM II² p. 279.
 Schulz 1992 p. 385.

TEXT NK.70: HT V pl. 29 and Meyer 1982 p. 303.
 Horizontal inscription on back and left side of statue base.

dd.f
i itw-ntr w^cbw hryw-hb nyw Imn
hsy tn ntr.tn šps
sw3d.tn i3wt.tn n hrdw.tn
mi dd.tn htp-di-nsw Imn-R^c
n k3 n(y) Sn-n-mwt

He says:
 O divine fathers, pure ones, lector priests of Amun!
 May your august god favour you, and
 may you pass on your positions to your children
 inasmuch as you say a *htp-di-nsw* (prayer) to Amun-Ra
 for the *k3* of Senenmut.

NK.71a-b

NAME: SENENMUT, Chief steward
 LOCATION: Karnak, Mut temple, Sistrophotous statue CG 579
 DATE: Dynasty 18, Hatshepsut

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Breasted 1906 II sections 349-58.
 Dorman 1988 p. 190.
 Lichtheim 1992 pp. 172-3.
 Meyer 1982 pp. 44, 186-205.
 PM II² p. 262.

TEXT NK.71a: Urk. IV 412.10-17. On the back of the statue.

⁸¹ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 309:3.

i ḥw tpyw-t3 wnw t hwt-ntr
m33.t(y).sn twt.i snn.i
[n-mrt mn] sh3.i m hrt-ntr

hs tn ntrt.tn ʕ3t
mi dd.tn htp-di-nsw
Mwt nb(t) i[šrw]

[di.s] htpt imyt šmʕw
n k3 n(y) wr mdw
šmʕ mhw Sn-n-mwt

O those who (still) live on earth, temple staff,
 who shall view my statue, my likeness,
 for the sake of maintaining my memory in the necropolis!

May your great goddess favour you
 inasmuch as you say a *htp-di-nsw* (prayer)
 to Mut mistress of the *I[sheru]* (sacred lake).

[May she give] offerings which are in Upper Egypt
 to the *k3* of the Magnate of the Tens
 of Upper and Lower Egypt Senenmut.

TEXT NK.71b:

Urk. IV 415.11-17. On the back of the statue.

t3w n(y) r(3) 3h(w) n sʕh
nn nw m wrdt hr.s
ink sʕh n sdm n.f
ʕk.kw grt hr sšw nb n(y) hmw-ntr

nn hnmt n.(i)
m hprrt dr sp tpy
n-mrt srwd p3t.i
hsy.(i) pw wnn ...

The breath of the mouth is beneficial to the blessed dead.
 It is not something under which one wearies.
 I am a blessed deceased because of listening to it,
 for I have entered into all the writings of the god's servants.

There is no ignorance on my part
 of what has taken place since the first occasion
 in order to make flourish my offering bread.
 (My) favour is what exists ...

NK.72

NAME: SENENMUT, Chief steward
 LOCATION: Theban tomb 71 (Sheikh Abd el-Qurna)
 DATE: Dynasty 18, Hatshepsut

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Dorman 1991.
 PM I² p. 141.
 Sottas 1913 p. 54.

TEXT NK.72: Urk. IV 401.11-402.2.
 Line of text on ceiling of first room.

... *m k^ch(w) n.f drt*
m ir(w) n.f htp-dl-nsw
hr nt(y)t r.f ink 3h ikr

ir s(i) nb wd.t(y).f(y) nkn r s^ch.i
nn šms.f n(y)-swt n(y) rk.f
nn krs.tw.f hr smyt imnt(y)t
nn hpr ^ch^cw.f tp t3

... as a hand is extended to him and
 as a *htp-dl-nsw* (prayer) is made for him,
 indeed by so much am I an effective 3h-spirit.

As for any man who shall do harm to my mummy,
 he will not follow the king of his time,
 he will not be buried in the western necropolis,
 (and) his lifetime on earth will not continue.

NK.73

NAME: QAHA,⁸² Foreman in the Place of Truth
 LOCATION: Deir el-Medina, Theban tomb 360
 DATE: Dynasty 19, Ramesses II

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bruyère 1933 pp. 71-90.
 Kitchen 1993 III p. 411.
 PM I² pp. 424-5.

TEXT NK.73: KRI III p. 598.14-599.3.

... [i] *rm^tw nb ^cn^hw [hr t3]*
sš nb wh^c[-ib m mdw-ntr]

⁸² Ranke 1935 v. I p. 336:22.

... ʕ3 n(y) iswt K3h3 m3ʕ-hrw

... nty nb tw.f r ttf mw n.i

... tp t3

sw3d.tn i3wt.tn n hrdw.tn ...

m-ht i3w w3h

mi ir.tw n m3ʕt m-b3h

... ntrw

n k3 n(y) ʕ3 n(y) iswt m st m3ʕt

hr imnt(y)t K3h3 m3ʕ-hrw

... (O) all people who are (still) alive [on earth]
every scribe who is skilled [in the hieroglyphic script]!
... the chief of the workmen Qaha, justified ...

[As for] anyone who will pour out water for me,
[while living] on earth,
may you pass on your positions to your children ...
after an enduring old age,
inasmuch as one acts for a righteous man before
[Amun, lord] of the gods and
for the k3 of the chief of the workmen in the Place of Truth
in the West Qaha, justified.

NK.74

NAME:

KARES, Steward of the king's mother

LOCATION:

Abydos (? said to be found at Dra Abu el-Naga),
stela CG 43003

DATE:

Dynasty 18, Amenophis I

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Bouriant 1888 p. 94 (no. 74).

Breasted 1906 II pp. 21-23.

Lacau 1909-1957 pp. 7-9.

Piehl 1888 pp. 117-118.

TEXT NK.74:

Urk. IV 48.2-10. Horizontal lines 12-16 on stela.

dd.f

i h3tyw-ʕ sšw hryw-hb

šmsw ʕnhw nyw mšʕw

hs tn mr tn ntrw.tn niwtyw

sw3d.tn iʕ(w)t.tn n hrdw.tn

m-ht i3w w3h

mi dd.tn htp-di-nsw
[Imn-R⁸³] n(y)-swt k3 šwtj
nb ʿnh dd mrwt
nb krst m-ht i3wt

di.f prt-hrw t(i) hnkt
k3w 3pdw ht nbt nfr(t) wʿbt
prrt hr wdhw n(y) Nb-r-dr
n k3 n(y) htmty-bity
imy-r(3) pt n(y) mwt-nsw K3rs

He says:

O mayors, scribes, lector priests,
 attendants, expedition members!

May your local gods favour you and love you.
 May you pass on your positions to your children
 after an enduring old age,
 inasmuch as you shall say a *htp-di-nsw* (prayer)
 [to Amun-Ra] king of the two lofty plumes,
 the possessor of life, the giver of that which is desired,
 the possessor of burial after old age.

May he give invocation offerings of bread, beer,
 beef, fowl, and everything good and pure
 that comes forth from the table of the Universal Lord
 for the *k3* of the royal seal-bearer and
 steward of the king's mother Kares.

NK.75

NAME: TJUNROY,⁸⁴ Royal scribe
 LOCATION: No provenience, statue CG 1105
 DATE: Dynasty 19, Ramesses II

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kitchen 1993 III p. 340.

TEXT NK.75: KRI III p. 480. Text around statue base.

dd.f
i hmw-ntr wʿb [hryw-hb]
sšw nb šs3 m mdw-ntr

⁸³ Name of Amun-Ra chiseled out during the reign of Akhenaten.

⁸⁴ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 381:24.

immi kbhw sntrw n hnty.i
k3 mn msw.tn
n k3 n(y) hsy ʿ3 ntr [nfr]
sš-nsw Tw-mw-ry m3ʿ-hrw

He says:

O god's servants, pure ones, [lector priests],
 and all scribes skilled in the hieroglyphic script!

Present libations and incense to my statue,
 then your children will endure.
 For the *k3* of the one whom the (good) god greatly praises,
 the royal scribe Tjunroy, justified.

NK.76

NAME:

TUTU, Chamberlain

LOCATION:

Amarna tomb no. 8

DATE:

Dynasty 18, Akhenaten

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Davies 1903-8 VI p. 27.
 Davies 1995 VI p. 26.
 Guksch 1994 pp. 177-8.
 Helck 1961 p. 360.
 Murnane 1995 p. 196.

TEXT NK.76:

Davies 1903-8 VI pl. xix.
 Sandman 1938 pp. 83.9-13 (cviii).
Urk. IV 2016.12-17.1 (no. 765).
 West wall, on lower part of north side.

dd.f
i [sš]mw irt nbw
sš [nb rh] hnwt.sn
wʿbw ʿ3w n(y) pr-Itn
b3[k]w n(y) Itn
srw [3h rh-nsw]
nty ibw.sn ʿrk(w) m ʿnh
3b nb ph i3w sm3-t3
krst m nfr iw.tw s3w m ʿnh

sdm n.tn
ʿkw r hwt.i
ptrw ʿ3w irywt n.i

He says:
 O leaders and everyone,
 [all] scribes [who know] their business,
 chief pure ones of the Aten temple,
 servants of the Aten,
 [efficient (?)] officials [and royal acquaintances],
 whose minds are adept at life,
 all who desire to attain old age and internment,
 (namely) burial as a good (person),
 having been sated with life!

Hear for yourselves,
 those who enter the funerary chapel, and
 see the great things which were done for me.⁸⁵

NK.77

NAME:

TJAWY,⁸⁶ Royal cup-bearer
 (also called Si-Renenwetet)

LOCATION:

Abydos? or Saqqara?, relief Boston 1972.651

DATE:

late Dynasty 18 or early Dynasty 19

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Daressy 1916 pp. 57-60.
 PM V p. 93.
 Simpson 1973 p. 78.

TEXT NK.77:

Simpson 1973 p. 72 (fig. 3).
 Horizontal lines 5-15 on reverse of relief,
 only about 2/3 of each line is preserved.

dd.f
i sšw nb wʿbw nb
hry-hb nb ʿrky m mdw-ntr ...

...ir.tn ʿhʿ nfr
w3h(w) tp t3
hr šms ntr.tn ...
mi dd.tn htp-di-nsw
h3 m t(i) hnkt
h3 k3w 3pdw h3 m htpt ...

ir rmṯw nbt imyw-r(3) k3t nbt
hrtyw-ntr nb irry k3t nbt ...

⁸⁵ Tutu's idealized biography follows this text.

⁸⁶ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 388:11.

(r) irt is pn n kt rmt
 nn krs.tw.f hr imnt(y)t
 wnn.f m hbn n(y) ...
 ... tw is hr.f
 nn wn h3.f r nšmt
 nn m33 n.f ntr ...
 sw Hnty-imntyw Wn-nfr
 hr-nt(y)t ir.n.i m m3^ct nn m ...

ink mtry m3^c ikr
 nb kd w3h-ib
 kb srf šw m grg
 ink hs ... im.f
 inl.i inr.f r(3)-3w ...
 wnn ... di.tw.i m is.i
 ir(w).n.i hr imnt(y)t ...
 hnm.i sntr ...

He says:

O all scribes, all pure ones, and
 every lector priest skilled in the hieroglyphic script ...

[May the god cause] that you spend a goodly lifetime,
 (after) having endured on earth,
 in the following of your (local) god ...
 inasmuch as you say a *hṭp-di-nsw* (prayer)
 (consisting of) 1000 bread and beer,
 1000 cattle and fowl, 1000 offerings, etc ...

As for everyone, every work overseer, and
 every necropolis worker,
 who shall undertake any work [in this tomb]
 to make a tomb for another man,
 he will not be buried in the West, and
 it will be an accusation of ...
 his tomb [will be destroyed and]
 he will not descend on the *nšmt*-barque,
 (and the) god will not take heed of him.
 Khenty-amentiyu and Onnophuris [will abandon] him,
 because I have acted in truth, not in [falsehood].

I am a true and effective witness,
 the possessor of a kindly character,
 calm-tempered, free from falsehood.
 I am one praised ... in it.
 I brought its (the tomb's) stone from Tura ...

... I was placed in my tomb
that I had made in the west ...
that I might smell the incense...

NK.78

NAME: TJIA,⁸⁷ Royal scribe and treasury chief
LOCATION: Saqqara, stela Florence 2352
DATE: Dynasty 19, Ramesses II

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kitchen 1993 III p. 267.
PM III² p. 654.

TEXT NK.78: KRI III p. 369. Lower register of stela by kneeling man.

dd.f
i sšw nb šs3 m mdw-ntr
hry w^cbw nyw pr-Pth
nty r m33 is pw n(y) m3^cty

ink mty m3^c dr wn.(i) tp [t3]
[ir]y.i hrnt ny-swt m hrt-hrw
ih dm.tn rn.i ...
k3 mnw ms.tn hr st.tn
n k3 n(y) Wsir
t3y hw hr wnmy n(y) ny-swt
sš-nsw imy-r3 pr-hd T i^c m3^c-hrw

He says:

O all scribes who are skilled in the hieroglyphic script,
(and) masters of the pure ones of the temple of Ptah
who shall see that this is the tomb of a just man!

I am a truly righteous man (ever) since I existed on [earth].
I daily performed that which pleased the king,
so may you please pronounce my name ...
Then your children will remain at your places.
For the *k3* of the Osiris, (the)
fan-bearer on the right side of the king, (the)
royal scribe and overseer of the treasury Tjia, justified.

⁸⁷ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 389:22.

NK.79

NAME: DIDIA,⁸⁸ Chief draftsman of Amun
 LOCATION: Louvre stela C50 (probably from Thebes)
 DATE: 19th Dynasty, Seti I

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Boulanger 1982 p. 119 (no. 76).
 Kitchen 1993 I p. 266.
 Lichtheim 1992 pp. 176-7.
 Lowle 1976 pp. 91-106.

TEXT NK.79: KRI I p. 328. Four horizontal lines on reverse of stela followed by offering text for ancestors.

dd.f
i hmw-ntr w^cbw hryw-hb
sš nb nyw pr-Wsir

šdd.sn wd pn n nbw nhh
ih dd.tn⁸⁹ htp-di-nsw
ttf.tn mw hr st3w n
Wsir imy-r3 sš kd n(y) Imn Ddi3
nbt pr Twy

k3 hs tn Wn-nfr
sw3d.tn i3wt.tn n msw.tn
m-ht i3wt w3h
šspwt snw pr(w)
m-b3h Imn Mwt Hnsw
di.f ph.tw imy-wrt sp^ct m3^ct

He says:

O god's servants, pure ones, lector priests,
 and every scribe of the House of Osiris!

It is the possessors of eternity
 that should read aloud (from) this stela.
 May you please say a *htp-di-nsw* (prayer),
 and may you pour out water on the ground for (the)
 Osiris, overseer of the draughtsmen of Amun Didia
 (and) the lady of the house Iuy.

Then Onnophuris shall favour you.

⁸⁸ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 402:10.

⁸⁹ The second person plural suffix pronoun is several times in this text written without the "n", consisting of only the "t" and the plural strokes, cf. Lichtheim 1992 p. 177.

You shall pass on your offices to your children
after an enduring old age (with)
the receipt of food offerings which came forth
from Amun, Mut, and Khonsu.
May he cause that you reach the West, the district of *maʿat*.

NK.80a-b

NAME:

DIDIA, Chief draftsman of Amun

LOCATION:

Deir el-Bahri (temple of Nebhepetre Montuhotep),
stela BM 706

DATE:

19th Dynasty, Seti I

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Kitchen 1993 I p. 267.
Lowle 1976 pp. 94-5.
Neville 1913 p. 4 & pl. 8.
PM I² p. 656.

TEXT NK.80a:

HT VI pl. 49 and KRI I p. 331.1-2.
Text on side edge of stela on viewer's right.

i ḥmw-ntr wʿbw ḥryw-ḥb
sš nb šs3(w) m sšw

šdd.sn wd pn n(y) Imn-n(y)-ipt
ḥs tn nb nḥḥ
sw3d.tn i3wt.tn n mswt.tn
m-ḥt i3wt w3ḥ ...

O god's servants, pure ones, lector priests, and
every scribe who is skilled in the writings!

As they read aloud this stela of Amun-of-Opet,
may the possessors of eternity favour you and
may you pass on your offices to your children,
after an enduring old age ...

TEXT NK.80b:

HT VI pl. 49 and KRI I p. 331.3-4.
Text on side edge of stela on viewer's left.

ir p3 nty nb iw.f r dit kbḥ m-b3ḥ
tw t pn n(y) Imn-n(y)-ipt n(y) psd.f
ḥnk.tw n.tn ḥtpt m pr-Imn
ʿnḥ m pr Mwt Ḥnsw
sdm.tw mdwt.tn m Twnw
wḥm.tw.w m W3st mn rn.[tn] ...

As for everyone who shall present a libation before
 this image of Amun-of-Opet and his ennead,
 may offerings be presented to you in the temple of Amun,
 and a bouquet in the temple(s) of Mut and Khonsu.
 May your words be heard in Heliopolis,
 be repeated in Thebes, (and) may [your] name endure ...

NK.81a-b

NAME:

Two Appeals

LOCATION:

DIDIA, Chief draftsman of Amun

DATE:

Karnak cachettes, statue CG 42122 (JE 36951)

19th Dynasty, Seti I

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

el-Damaty 1990 p. 5 pl. 5a & b.

Legrain 1906 I pp. 71-73.

Lowle 1976 pp. 96-98.

PM I² p. 145.

Schulz 1992 pp. 249-250.

TEXT NK.81a:

KRI VII pp. 24.14-25.3.

Vertical columns on right half of statue.

*ḏḏ.f**i ḥmw-nṯr wꜥbw ḥryw-ḥb**sš nb šdd [sš pn]**ḥsy tn nṯrw.tn**ḏḏw rn.tn m r(3) n r(3)**sw3ḏ.tn i3t.tn n msw.tn m-ḥt i3w w3ḥ**mi ḏḏ.tn ḥtp-di-nsw**ḳbh.tn n.i mw di.tn n.i ḥtp**m-b3ḥ.i ḥft wdb-ḥt**ink b3k n(y) nb 3w-ib**Ḥnsw Nfr-ḥtp**šd.f wi di.f n.i p3 i3w**m-b3ḥ nb nṯrw**di.w m-ḥr.i in ḥm.f r b3k n'Imn**r sm3 mnw 'Ipt-swt**ḥr imnt(y)t wrt n(y) W3st**di.f ph.i imnt(y)t niwt.f ḏ3ḏ3t m3ꜥty**n k3 n(y) imy-r3 sš ḳd n(y) Imn Ddi3*

He says:

O god's servants, pure ones, lector priests,
and any scribe who shall read (this text)!

May your (local) gods favour you,
may your name endure from mouth to mouth,
and may you pass on your offices to you children,
after an enduring old age,
inasmuch as you speak the *ḥtp-di-nsw* (prayer),
as you pour water for me, (and) as you place offerings
in front of me during the reversion of offerings.

I am the servant of the Lord of Happiness
Khonsu-Neferhotep.
May he rescue me and may he give breath to me
in the presence of the lord of the gods.
I was commanded by His Majesty to do work for Amun
in order to renew monument(s) (at) Karnak
and in the great west of Thebes.

May he cause that I reach the west of his town
and the magistrates of (twin feathers of) judgement.
For the *k3* of the overseer of the draughtsmen of Amun,
Didia.

TEXT NK.81b:

KRI VII p. 25.9-10.
Vertical columns on the left half of the statue.

dd.f
i sš nb šs3 m i3t.f
šdd.sn rn n(y) twt pn m ib mrr
ḥsy tn nbw nhḥ
sw3d.tn mdw n nb-ḥnh
m-ḥt i3w 3w ḥr-nty r(3).f

He says:

O every scribe skilled in his office!
It is with a loving mind that
they read aloud the name of this statue,
so that the possessors of eternity may favour you.
It is on account of its speech that you should
pass on the staff to the possessor of life,⁹⁰
after an advanced old age.

⁹⁰ *Nb-ḥnh*, translated literally as "possessor of life," is the Egyptian term for a sarcophagus (CDME p. 128).

NK.82

NAME: DJEHUTY,⁹¹
 LOCATION: Deir el-Bahri (temple of Nebhepetre Montuhotep),
 block statue London UC 14351
 DATE: Dynasty 18, Hatshepsut

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Page 1976 p. 57.
 PM II² p. 393.
 Schulz 1992 p. 395.
 Weigell 1907 p. 219.

TEXT NK.82: Urk. IV 451-2 (no. 143)
 Three vertical lines on left side of statue.

i w^cb nb hry-hb n(y) 3h-st
sw3d.tn i3wt.tn m hrdw.tn
mi dd.tn htp-di-nsw
Imn-R^c n k3 n(y) wdnw Dhwti m3^c-hrw

O every pure one and every lector priest in 3h-st!⁹²
 May you pass on your offices to your children
 inasmuch as you speak the htp-di-nsw (prayer to)
 Amun-Ra for the k3 of the offerer Djehuty, justified.

NK.83

NAME: DJEHUTY, Overseer of the granary of Amun
 LOCATION: Karnak (Path temple), kneeling statue CG 42123
 DATE: Dynasty 18, Tuthmosis III

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Blumenthal *et al.* 1984 pp. 491-2.
 Legrain 1906 pp. 73-74., pl. lxxiii.
 PM II² p. 202.

TEXT NK.83: Urk. IV p. 1207 (no. 359).
 Four horizontal lines on top of the base.

dd.f
i nhw tpyw-t3
w^cbw s3w nyw r(3)-pr pn

⁹¹ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 407:13.

⁹² Literally "splendid of place," 3h-st is the name of 11th Dynasty funerary temple of Nebhepetre Montuhotep at Deir el-Bahri (cf. Page 1976 p. 57).

ḥsy tn Imn-R^c
ḥwn fnd.tn m ḥnh
mi di.tn mn twt.i
ir.n.i m ḥry sin m
šnt n(y)t ḥtpw-ntr m-mrt
sm3.i Imn im.f r^c nb

He says:

O those who (still) live one earth,
pure ones and scribes of this temple!

May Amun-Ra favour you and
may your nose be refreshed with life
inasmuch as you cause that my statue endure
because I have acted as a bearer of seals in
the granary for the god's offering in order that
I might supply Amun with it (grain) every day.

NK.84

NAME:

DJEHUTY, Overseer of sculptors

LOCATION:

Hierakonpolis tomb

DATE:

Dynasty 18, Tuthmosis I

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

PM V p. 199.

TEXT NK.84:

Urk. IV 133.7f. Text to right of niche in tomb.

i w^cb nb ḥry-ḥb nb
sš p^cwt nbwt rhyt nbt
ḥnmmt nbt
ḥnhw tpyw-t3 sw3.t(y).fy⁹³ hr isy pn

ḥs tn mry tn ntrw.tn niwtyw
wnn.tn tp t3
sw3d.tn i3wt.tn (n) ḥrdw.tn ...
mi dd.tn ḥtp-di-ḥtpw
nn nty hr wd pn
n k3 n(y) Wsir im3hy
imy-r(3) gnwtyw
Dḥwty m3^c-ḥrw hr ntr ḥ3

⁹³ The *t* of the *sdm.ty.fy* form is actually written twice, perhaps indicating some confusion with the dual form. One *t* is between the "x" and the walking legs and the other is above the *fy*.

dm.tn rn.i
3h n.tn
swsh.n.i w3t n wdhw.i
m ht n(y) nwh 21

O any pure one, any lector priest,
 any scribe, any noble or common folk,
 any sunfolk of Heliopolis, (and anyone else)
 living on earth who shall pass by this tomb of mine!

May your local deities favour you and love you,
 while you exist on earth and
 may you pass on your offices to your children ...⁹⁴
 inasmuch as you say a *htp-di-nsw* (prayer) and
 these things that are on this stela
 for the *k3* of the Osiris, the revered one,
 the overseer of sculptors⁹⁵
 Djehuty, justified by the great god.

As you pronounce my name,
 so may it benefit you.
 I have widened the road to my offering table
 consisting of 21 rods of cords.⁹⁶

NK.85

NAME:

DJEHUTY, Overseer of the treasury

LOCATION:

Theban tomb 11⁹⁷ (Dra Abu el-Naga)

DATE:

Dynasty 18, Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

PM I² p. 23.

TEXT NK.85:

Urk. IV 439.12-440.5.

Stela on east end of transverse hall of tomb.

[i mrrw 'nh msddyw] hpyt
'k.t(y).sn (r) isw.i ...
(mr)r tn k3 n(y) n(y)-swt ([M3't-k3-r'])| 'nh dt
s3t 'Imn mrrt.f

⁹⁴ Sethe Urk. IV 133b suggests the missing signs may be *tp t3* for "on earth."

⁹⁵ Ward 1982 p. 52 (no. 407).

⁹⁶ Gardiner 1957 p. 199 (sec. 266.2) translates this passage as "the length of the roadway equals 2100 cubits" (about 1100 m.)

⁹⁷ Being investigated by a Spanish mission under the direction of Dr. José Manuel Galán.

[*hsy tn*] *ntr.tn* [*niwtyw*]
mn iw^cw.tn ...
 [*m-ht h*] *pwt.tn tp t3*
sw3d.tn mdw n(y) nb ^cnh
m hswt n(y)t nb ntrw

[O you who love life and who hate] death,
 those who shall enter into (this) tomb of mine ...
 may the *k3* of King [Hatshepsut],⁹⁸ may she live forever,
 the daughter of Amun whom he loves, love you ...

May your (local) god [favour you],
 may your heirs endure ...
 [after] your deaths on earth.
 May you pass on the staff of the possessor of life⁹⁹
 with the favours of the lord of the gods ...

NK.86

NAME: DJEHUTY, also called Iuy
 LOCATION: Thebes (?), scribe statue Brooklyn 37.30¹⁰⁰
 DATE: Dynasty 18, Tuthmosis III and Amenophis II

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Cooney 1950 pp. 12-16.
 James 1974 pp. 86-87 (no. 199).
 PM I² p. 784.
 Scott 1989 v. 3 pp. 508-512 (no. 181).

TEXT NK.86: James 1974 pl. LI (no. 199)
 The Appeal begins at the end of the last horizontal register
 on the papyrus held by the statue's hands and is completed
 by four horizontal lines on the front, top and side surfaces
 of the base.

[*i ^cnhw tp t3 hry*]-*hb (nb)*
hm-k3 nb sš nb
m33.t(y).sn twt.(i) pn
snn.i iw^cw.i tp t3
sh3.i m hrt-ntr

⁹⁸ Hatshepsut's name was chiseled out, presumably during the reign of Tuthmosis III.

⁹⁹ *Nb-^cnh*, translated literally as "possessor of life," is the Egyptian term for a sarcophagus (CDME p. 128).

¹⁰⁰ Acquired between 1832 and 1843 by Henry Abbott, the provenance and date of this piece are determined wholly from the internal evidence. Cooney (1950) thought the piece was from Hermopolis and dated to the 19th Dynasty (cf. PM I² p. 784).

hs tn n(y)-swt n(y) rk.tn
hwn fnd.tn m ʿnh
dd.tn htp-di-nsw Imn n(y)-swt ntrw
ʒh m pt wsr m tʒ
ʿk prt m hprw nb
n kʒ n(y) sš Dḥwty
ms(w).n nbt-pr Wdʒ-hnmw
ir(w).n Dḥwty mʒʿ-hrw

tʒw n r(ʒ) ʒh n sʿh
nn nw m wrdt hr.s

[O those who still live on earth, every lector] priest,
 every *kʒ* priest, and every scribe
 who shall see this statue (of mine),
 my image and heir on earth,
 my remembrance in the necropolis!

May the king of your time favour you and
 may your nose be refreshed with life, when
 you say a *htp-di-nsw* (prayer) to Amun, king of the gods,
 beneficent in heaven, strong on earth,
 who enters and goes forth in every transformation
 for the *kʒ* of the scribe Djehuty,
 born of the mistress of the house Wedja-khnum,
 and begotten of Djehuty, justified.

The breath of the mouth is beneficial to the noble deceased,
 it is not something under which one wearies.

NK.87

NAME:

DJEHUTYNEFER,¹⁰¹ Overseer of the treasury

LOCATION:

Theban tomb 104

DATE:

Dynasty 18, Amenophis II

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Cumming 1984 v. III p. 300.
 Hermann 1940 pp. 4* [24-25] & 30*.
 PM I² p. 218.

TEXT NK.87:

Urk. IV 1610.3-18.
 Stela on left wall of transverse hall in tomb.

¹⁰¹ Ranke 1935 v. I p. 408:6.

dd.f
i [*ʕnhw tpyw-t3*]
 [wnn]w [*ʕnh r nhh*]
 [hmw-ntr] sšw hryw-hb
 w^cbw [hmw-k3]
 sšw šs3 m rh
 ʕk.t(y).sm r is.(i) pn
 šd.t(y).sn m wd pn

w3h n.tn ...
hs tn [ntr niwty.tn]
m33.tn nfrw.f
 [sw3d.tn] i3wt.tn n hrdw.tn
m-ht i3w w3h
mi dd.tn htp-di-nsw
 [Imn-R^c-hr]-3hty Wsir nb dt
 Inpw hnty s^ch ntr

di.sn h3 m t(i) hnkt k3w 3pdw
ht nbt nfrt [ndmt w^cbt] rnpw irp irtt
prt m-b3h nb [nhh]
m-[b3h] nb dt
Hwt-hr hry-tp h3st nbt
 [n k3 ny] sš ...
dd(w).n.f Dhwt-y-nfr m3^c-hrw
hr ntr ʕ3 hk3 dt

He says:

O [those who still live on earth]
 [who shall exist alive unto eternity]
 [god's servants], scribes, lector priests,
 pure ones, [k3-priests],
 scribes who are wise with knowledge,
 who shall enter this tomb (of mine) and
 who shall read aloud from this stela!

May ... endure for you ... and
 may [you local god] favour you,
 may you see his beauty,
 [may you pass on] your offices to your children,
 after an enduring old age
 inasmuch as you say a *htp-di-nsw* (prayer)
 [to Amun-Rahor]akhty, Osiris lord of eternity,
 and Anubis foremost-of-the-divine-booth.

May they give 1000 of bread, beer, beef, fowl, and
everything good, [sweet, pure], vegetation, wine, and milk
issued in the presence of the lord [of eternity],
(even) before the lord of everlastingness and
Hathor who has authority over every foreign land
[for the *k3* of] the scribe ...
who is called Djehutynefer, justified
by the great god, the ruler of eternity.

7.0 APPEAL INVOCATIONS

Investigating to whom the Appeal texts are addressed gives an idea of who would be able to read the texts and perform the desired activities. The lack of consistency in the audience invoked in the Appeal texts suggests that this audience was largely a matter of personal choice and preference. Nevertheless, trends may be discerned across time and space. This chapter is organized into six sections. In the first three sections three standard formulae are investigated: 1) those who (still) live on earth, 2) those who love life and who hate death, and 3) those who travel upstream and downstream. In the next section terms for people in general are investigated. Then different types of officials are examined, first clerical officials and then civil officials.

7.1 Those who (still) live on earth

The classic address to “those who (still) live on earth” first appears in the Old Kingdom in the Sixth Dynasty. Although most of the Old Kingdom examples date to the reign of Pepy II, the earliest examples date to the beginning of the Dynasty to the reigns of Teti and Pepy I; they include the Saqqara tomb of Metjetjy (Berlin 321900), the stela of Nedjemib (Cairo CG 1732) and the Giza tomb of Nekhebu (G2381). Thus, from the existing evidence, it seems that the address to the living starts in the area of the Memphite necropolis and spreads from there to the provinces; it appears in the tomb of Djaou at Deir el-Gebrawi, and at Edfu on the stela of Meryranefer (CG 43371), as well as in the tomb of Harkhuf at Aswan. The address to the living already appears twice at Abydos in the Old Kingdom, on the stela of Djaou (CG 1431) and on the stela of Pepini (CG 1579). The address to the living appears 10 times in the Old Kingdom, which forms 29% of the

Old Kingdom sample in this study (chapter 2). The popularity of the address to the living, however, is at the end of the Old Kingdom; it appears on 7 out of 18 examples or 39% of the study sample from the second half of Dynasty Six.

The particular address to “those who (still) live on earth” continues to have great popularity in the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom; in each case it appears in over half the examples in the study sample (chapters 3 and 4 respectively, not counting the variants). It appears in all the Appeals from Naga ed-Deir and Abydos from the First Intermediate Period; hence the Thinite region of Upper Egypt must be considered as the centre of the popularity of the address to “those who (still) live on earth.” This phrase is found on the stela of Hemitre from Busiris (FIP.26a) and on the false door of Iti from Saqqara (FIP.5), the two First Intermediate Period examples from the north of Egypt, as well as in the Asyut tomb of It-ibi (FIP.7a) in Middle Egypt. So the address to “those who (still) live on earth” is found in all regions of Egypt during the First Intermediate Period. It is not found in the Hatnub quarry texts, but does appear in Khor Dehmit graffito 308 (FIP.36) from Nubia. Likewise, the address to the living is found in all regions of Egypt during the Middle Kingdom. It appears on the block statue of Ameny from Saqqara (MK.10) and on two stelae (MK.34 and MK.69) from Haraga. It is popular in the Sinai inscriptions (nos. 36, 53, 114, 118, and 409), appearing five times, and also appears in Nubia on stela Khartoum 2646 (MK.35) from Semna. The popularity of the address to the living probably peaked in the First Intermediate Period. Its decline in popularity during the Middle Kingdom can be traced at Abydos. It appears on 17 of 21 examples or 81% of the early Dynasty 12 stelae from Abydos in our sample of Appeal

texts, yet the phrase appears on only 11 of 24 examples or 49% of the late Dynasty 12 or Dynasty 13 stelae from Abydos in our sample (chapter 4).¹

The standard phrase “O those who (still) live on earth” (*i ʿnhw tpyw-t3*) appears in the study’s sample ten times from the Old Kingdom, 24 times from the First Intermediate Period and 45 times from the Middle Kingdom. Variants appear already in the First Intermediate Period, including one from Abydos (CG 1651) included in the 100% count above of FIP Appeals in the Thinite region. Stela CG 1651 of Merri (FIP.18) is neither dated nor provenanced very securely. It contains the vocative *i ʿnhw* clearly, but then this is followed by another vocative *i* and a damaged section. One may restore *tpyw-t3* in the damaged area on analogy with stela Edinburgh 1910.96 of Seneni from Dendera.² The single invocation, therefore, is replaced by two, “O those who (still) live,” and “O those who (are still) on earth.” The meaning is the same, but the form has been altered. It is possible that this double phrase is a Dendera variant and that stela CG 1651 is actually from that site. The two components, *i ʿnhw* and *tpyw-t3*, also appear separately. The phrase *i ʿnhw* appears alone on the First Intermediate Period inscription of Shemai from the Wadi Hammamat (FIP.37) and on the Middle Kingdom stelae of Khuenbik (MK.48) from Abydos and of Mutwer (MK.28) from the Elephantine sanctuary of Heqaib. Along the same vein is the invocation to “those (still) alive and who are in Elephantine (*i ʿnhw imyw 3bw*) found on the Middle Kingdom statue of Senebbu (MK.74) from the

¹ See Appendix I for chronological list of sample texts. The early Middle Kingdom is considered here to be Dynasty 12 up to and including the reign of Sesostriis II, whereas the late Middle Kingdom is from the reign of Sesostriis III through to Dynasty 13. Dynasty 12 texts not dated to specific reigns have been divided into early and late categories and placed at the beginning and end of the datable Dynasty 12 texts in Appendix I.

² Stela CG 38551 of Ab-ihw, also from Dendera, may also be restored with this phrase (Fischer 1968 p. 205)..

Elephantine sanctuary of Heqaib. On the stela of Inyotef from Thebes (CG 20003), probably from late Dynasty 11, is the invocation to “those who (still) live and those who (still) exist” (*i ʿnhw ntyw wnnyw*). The relative adjective is also used on the stela of Montuweser (MMA 12.184), dated to the reign of Sesostris I, in the invocation to “those who are among the living” (*ntyw m-m ʿnhw*). “Those on earth” (*tpyw-t3*) appears alone on the stela of Hekenu (FIP.30) from the First Intermediate Period and on the Dynasty 13 statue base of Senpu (MK.72) from the Elephantine sanctuary of Heqaib (no. 72).

The invocation to “all those who (still) live on earth (*i ʿnhw tpyw-t3*)” continues to be found in 18th Dynasty Appeals, mostly from Thebes, but from other parts of the country as well. It appears on the stela of Sobekhotep (NK.68) from Medinet el-Fayum, the stela of Nakhtmin (NK.53) from Akhmim and the stela of Yuf (SIP.2) from Edfu. The Appeal to the living appears in 17 of the 55 18th Dynasty Appeals in the study sample or in about one-third (30%) of the Appeals of this period; this increases to 44% if the variants are included. A more elaborate form of address appears in the Theban tomb (no. 24) of Nebamun and the el-Kab tomb (no. 3) of Pahery; this is an appeal to “those who (still) live, who (still) exist, great ones, people (still) on earth (*ʿnhw wnnyw wrw rmtw tpyw-t3*). The imperfective participle of the verb “to exist” (*wnn*) is used to elaborate the formula elsewhere as well in the 18th Dynasty. In the Theban tomb (no. 100) of Rekhmire the participle of *wnn* is followed by a participle of *ʿnh*. On the Akhmim stela of Nakhtmin (Louvre C55), the standard phrase “all those who (still) live on earth” is followed and amplified by the phrase “who exist alive forever and ever” (*wnnyw ʿnh r nhḥ dt*). Again the imperfective participle of “to exist” (*wnn*) is used with the connotation of incomplete

and ongoing action. The expressions of both cyclical (*nhh*) and linear (*dt*) eternity serve both to project Nakhtmin's message into an eternal future and to suggest an eternal life to the reader who complies with Nakhtmin's wishes. Finally, at the Amarna tomb (no. 25) of Ay we find the classic phrase reconfigured as "everyone who (still) lives on earth" (*i wꜥ nb ꜥnhw tp t3*). It is not clear whether the reworking of the phrase would be due to a deliberate distancing from the pre-Amarna religion or whether it just reflects an ongoing trend of variations.

With the post-Amarna period and Dynasties 19-20, the classic phrase "those who (still) live on earth" (*i ꜥnhw tpyw-t3*) no longer appears in the Appeals, although many variants amounting to the same thing continue to be used.³ The new standard phrase is "all people who (still) live on earth" (*rmꜥw nbt ꜥnh hr/tp t3*). This phrase appears four times in the study sample: 1) on the stela of Khetef (Louvre C95) from the reign of Ramesses II; 2) on the stela of Pay (BM 156) from the reign of Ramesses II; 3) in the Deir el-Medina tomb of Qaha (TT360) from the reign of Ramesses II; and 4) on the Deir el-Medina block statue of Pashedu (Cairo no. 11.4.64.1) from Dynasty 20. The stela of Pay (BM 156) still uses the traditional preposition *tp*, but this is now being replaced by another preposition for "on" (*hr*). The same substitution is found on the statue of Paser (CG 651) from Deir el-Bahri, where the invocation is to "those who (still) live on earth" (*i ꜥnhw hr t3*). The meaning is the same, but *tpyw-t3* is such a stock phrase that continues throughout the

³ Although not appearing in the Ramesside and Third Intermediate Periods, the phrase is reintroduced in the archaizing trend of the 25th and 26th Dynasties; it is found on the Saite chapels at Medinet Habu, as well as in the tombs of Ibi (TT36) and Pedamenope (TT33), and on the statues of Monthuemhat (CG 42236) and Akhamenru (Louvre A85).

period that I have treated this development with *hr* as a variant. The use of the noun *rmṯw* makes *ṛnh* an adjectival rather than a substantival participle. Its use in the phrase “O people who still (still) live” (*i rmṯ ṛnhw*) is found earlier in the late Middle Kingdom stela of Nenhemsén (MK.39), so it is not simply a Ramesside innovation. Other Ramesside variants occur with the imperfective participle of *wnn*, such as *ṛnhyw wnyw tp t3* on the statue of Pahemnetjer (NK.28) and *wnyw tpyw-t3* in the Zawyet Sultan tomb of Nefersékheru (NK.51a).⁴ More elaborate is the invocation of Bakenkhonsu (NK.24b) to “people who reason with their minds, who exist, and who are (still) on earth” (*rmṯ nb ipw m ib.sn wnnyw nty tp t3*). This includes the noun *rmṯw*, the imperfective participle *wnnyw* and the relative adjective *nty* all in one invocation.

7.2 Those who love life and who hate death

The formula “those who love life and who hate death” (*mrrw ṛnh msḏḏw ḥpyt*) is characteristic of the Upper Egyptian Appeal texts of the First Intermediate Period and usually appears together with the phrase “those who (still) live on earth.”⁵ The phrase “who love life and hate death” continues to appear in Appeals from Upper Egypt in the Middle Kingdom, Second Intermediate Period, and into the New Kingdom. As with the invocation of “all those who (still) live on earth,” this phrase is all inclusive, as it can be taken for granted that everyone loved life and hated the thought of death – it is an innate human characteristic.⁶ The word for death (*ḥpyt*)⁷ used here is from the same root as the

⁴ While only one *n* is written, these participles of the verb “to exist” are identified as imperfective by the double reed leaf ending (Allen 1999 p. 322, Gardiner 1957 sec. 357).

⁵ Lichtheim (1992 p. 160) describes the designation of “the living ones on earth” as those “who love life and hate death” as the “principal innovation of the Appeal texts in the FIP.”

⁶ Lichtheim (1988 p. 34) suggests that the inclusion of this phrase in Appeal texts is “a characteristic of man’s growing self-knowledge and candor.”

⁷ *Wb.* III 258, 3-9 and CDME p. 188.

verb *hpi* meaning “to travel” and thus, there is a connection with the Egyptian concept of death as a “passage” through the underworld.⁸

The earliest example of an Appeal text with the “those who love life and who hate death” (*mrrw ḥnh msddw hpyt*) formula is the stela of Meni from Dendera (Urk. I 268.11). The date is somewhat problematic, but must be after the reign of Merenre, for whom Meni held a priesthood. Baer (1960 p. 78), as well as Petrie and Griffith (1900 p. 42), accept a date in the reign of Pepy II, but Meni’s long name *Mn-ḥnh-Ppy*, probably refers to Pepy II rather than Pepy I. Fischer (1968 pp. 85-90) and Schenkel (1965 p. 35) both argue for a later date. Thus, the stela of Meni may be placed in the transitional period at the end of Dynasty Six after the reign of Pepi II.⁹ Both Fischer (1968 p. 195f. = Appendix B) and Schenkel (1965 p. 35) connect the stela of Meni with a particular group of stelae from Dendera. Other stelae in the group that contain Appeal texts are those of Neferyu (MMA 12.183.8), Seneni (Edinburgh 1910.96), and Ab-ihw (JE 38551). These stelae have been considered as dating to the early FIP, though there is some question as to whether they should be placed in Dynasty 8 or 9.¹⁰ What is relevant here, more than palaeographic detail or stylistic development, is the political context. If placed in Dynasty 9, these stelae may be seen as evidence of the Herakleopolitan presence in the sixth Upper Egyptian nome. Ab-ihw was Overseer of Upper Egypt, as well as Great Overlord of the Thinite and Denderite nomes (Fischer 1968 p. 205). Whether or not Ab-ihw came to

⁸ Brovarski (1989 pp. 577-8) notes Old Kingdom offering formulae that use *hpyt* to refer to the travels or wanderings of the blessed dead. See also Barta 1968 pp. 17, 28 etc. (Bitte 12) and Wilson 1954 p. 251.

⁹ Meni is not listed in Harpur 1987. Baer (1960 p. 63) places Meni before the tomb of Idw at Dendera, which he dates to the reign of Pepy II or later. Fischer (1968 p. 85) and Schenkel (1965 p. 35) consider Meni as either contemporary or slightly later than Idw.

¹⁰ Peck (1985 p. 87 n.2) places Ab-ihw in late Dynasty 8, whereas Fischer (1968 pp. 202-3) places him in Dynasty 9. Hayes (1953 p. 140) places Neferyu in Dynasty 8, whereas Fischer (1963 p. 19) places him in Dynasty 9.

Dendera from Abydos, as Fischer (1968 p. 85) suggests, this evidence connecting the two sites helps explain the concentration of FIP Upper Egyptian Appeal texts in Dendera and in the Thinite nome.

From the First Intermediate Period, the “love life, hate death” formula appears on stelae from Gebelein (FIP.4) and Thebes (FIP.27) and on Khor Dehmit graffito 308 in Nubia (FIP.36). Some two thirds (12 of 18) of the FIP examples of this phrase come from the Thinite nome, mostly from Naga ed-Deir, but some from Abydos itself. Though all of the Appeal texts from Naga ed-Deir contain the invocation to “those who (still) live on earth,” not all contain the “love life, hate death” phrase. This formula is missing from the polychrome stelae (Dynasty 9/10) of Tjeby (Berkeley LMA 6-1826), and Weha (OI 16956), as well as from the slightly later (Dynasty 10/11) stela of Neferiwnu (Berkeley LMA 6-1589). The three First Intermediate Period Appeals from Abydos (those of Mereri CG 1651, of Montuhotep Cambridge E 9.1922 and the anonymous stela of Petrie 1902 pl. 54) all contain the “love life, hate death” formula. Both the 11th Dynasty stela of Meru (Turin Suppl. 1447) and the late 11th /early 12th Dynasty stela of Inyotef (CG 20003) from Thebes (?) contain the phrase. Most of the Middle Kingdom examples also were found at Abydos, although the formula does occur elsewhere in Upper Egypt, such as at Edfu (CG 20530). Four of the seven Abydos Appeals from the reign of Sesostris I contain the phrase,¹¹ so the use of the “love life, hate death” formula carried over into the early Middle Kingdom at Abydos quite heavily.

¹¹ Los Angeles A.5141.50-876 (Shen), CG 20515 (Nakht), MMA 12.184 (Montuweser) and CG 20539 (Montuhotep).

Variations in the standard “love life, hate death” (*mrrw ḥnh msḏḏw ḥpyt*) phrase appear as early as the reign of Sesostri I, where in MMA 12.184 (Montuweser) the typical word for death (*ḥpyt*) is replaced by another common term (*mwt*). This variation is also found on the 13th Dynasty stela CG 20030 (Samenkhet?). Other variations replace *msḏḏ ḥp(y)t* with *smḥw m(w)t* and alter the grammar from a set of participles to an emphatic *sḏm.f* of manner/nominalization. This altered phrase (*mrrw.tn ḥnh smḥw.tn m(w)t*) first appears in the study sample on stela CG 20539 of the Vizier Montuhotep from the reign of Sesostri I. When it appears later in Turin 1628 (Senpu) and CG 20538 (Sehetepibre), there is a strong possibility that the choice of this phrase may have been influenced by its appearance on CG 20539. Breasted (1906 p. 257), Doxey (1998 p. 221), and most recently Leprohon (in press) have voiced the opinion that Sehetepibre copied from stela CG 20539. This change from “hate” (*msḏḏ*) to ignore (*smḥ*) provides some basis for Lichtheim’s (1992 pp. 163-4) suggestion that “hating death” may have been too strong for priestly sensibilities. The revamped phrase, “who remembers life and ignores death” (*sh3 ḥnh smḥ mwt*) is found on stela CG 20683 (Iykhernofret) from the reign of Sesostri III.

Though in Egypt in the First Intermediate Period, the “love life, hate death” formula is limited to Upper Egypt, in the Middle Kingdom a variant is known from Saqqara. The stela of Neferher (CG 20829) contains the phrase “as he loves goodness and hates evil” (*mrr.f nfr msḏ.f ḏwt*). Here goodness or beauty (*nfr*) is substituted for life (*ḥnh*); evil or abomination (*ḏwt*) is substituted for death (*mwt*).¹² Another variant appears on the block

¹² As suggested by R.J. Leprohon (personal communication) the use of *nfr* may well be a pun on the stela owner’s name.

statue of Ptahmose from Memphis (Florence 1790) from the reign of Amenophis III. On the back of this statue is written “may you remember life and may you forget death” (*sh3.tn ʿnh smh.tn m(w)t*). So the gist of the “love life, hate death” formula was certainly known in northern Egypt, even if the classic phrase has not yet been located there. Unfortunately, the paucity of material from northern Egypt is as likely an explanation for the concentration of the “love life, hate death” phrase in Upper Egypt, as is regional variation.

An example of the “love life, hate death” formula (*mr.tn ʿnh msd.tn hpyt*) appears on the Second Intermediate Period stela (CG 20530) of Horemmehib from Edfu. Again, a paucity of material from this era merely allows us to document that the formula was still being used during the period, without any clear indication of the extent of this use. In the 18th Dynasty, with many more sources, only a few attestations are included in the study sample. The invocation to “those who love life and who hate death” (*mrrw ʿnh msdḏw hpyt*) appears on the stela of Neferu (Leiden V38) and can be restored in Theban tomb 11 of Djehuty based on the occurrence of *hpyt*. From Theban tomb 84 of Imau-nedjeh comes the phrase “may you forget death and remember life (*smh.tn mwt sh3.tn ʿnh*). Finally, from the Amarna tomb (no. 25) of Ay, the invocation to “everyone who loves life” (*i wʿ nb mr(w) ʿnh*) is another reflection of the well-known formula. Thus, the decline in popularity of the “love life, hate death” phrase can be traced after the Middle Kingdom. While there may be an element of it “not being a suitable priestly and pious attitude” as Lichtheim (1992 pp. 163-4) suggests, the fact that it follows much the same pattern as the invocation to “those who (still) live on earth” implies that similar factors

were at play in both instances. In each case, the classic phrase lasted until the 18th Dynasty, but variations became important starting in the Middle Kingdom and continuing into the New Kingdom. The strength of centuries-old traditions, such as those embodied in these phrases, was undoubtedly weakened by Akhenaten's religious reforms and change to the use of Late Egyptian in texts written on papyrus.

7.3 Those who travel upstream and downstream

The Appeal of Pepiankh hery-ib at Meir (Urk. I 223.17) begins "O all people who travel downstream (northwards) or who fare upstream (southwards)" (*i rmṯw nb šmw m ḥd iww m hnt*). A similar invocation (*m ḥd m ḥsfwt*) is made at Aswan by Harkhuf (Urk. I 122.10). Both Appeals date to the reign of Pepy II at the end of Dynasty 6. This type of invocation did not occur in the early Appeals at Giza and Saqqara on the outskirts of the capital Memphis; it makes sense as a distinctly provincial formula, since it refers to the officials that led the state-sponsored expeditions and who would have had to travel up and down the Nile in the service of the crown. For example, Weni the elder (Urk. I 98-110) records in his tomb autobiography at Abydos such expeditions as five military attacks against the Bedouin of the Sinai or southern Palestine; quarrying expeditions to Nubia (*Ibh3t* near Toshka), Aswan, and to Hatnub in Middle Egypt; and an expedition to dig canals in Upper Egypt, probably at the First Cataract. Harkhuf himself led at least three expeditions to Nubia. In the late Old Kingdom, nobles began to erect their tombs in the provinces, where the tombs would not be accessible to the highest officials of the country, except on their travels. The invocation to "those who travel downstream and upstream" is a good indication of the changing dynamic where officials on state business

did stop on their travels and look at some of the sites, among which would have been the impressive rock-cut tombs of their predecessors.¹³

The upstream/downstream formula appears in the First Intermediate period Appeals of It-ibi at Asyut (FIP.7a) and at Naga ed-Deir (FIP.22 Nefernehesi and FIPd.40 Tjeby). The invocation to those who travel up and down the Nile is fairly common in the Middle Kingdom, being found at least seven times on stelae from Abydos,¹⁴ at Aswan (Qubbet el-Hawa tomb 36 and Elephantine stela 10 of Sarenput), Haraga (tomb 140 of Nebipu and stela Copenhagen AEIN 1539 of Sepi), and Saqqara (block statue of Ankhu). The last appearance of this formula in the study sample is from the 18th Dynasty scribe statue of Amenhotep son of Hapu from the 10th Pylon at Karnak (JE 44861). Therefore, the chronological and spatial distribution of the upstream/ downstream formula is similar to those of the Appeal to the living and the “love life, hate death” formulae.

The upstream/downstream formula first appears after the Appeal to the living, but before the “love life, hate death” formula. It is a good example of how the Appeal texts adapted to changing conditions – in this case no longer being located near the capital and the scores of high officials who would have been stationed there. In terms of variants developing after the formula became well established, the case is not the same for the upstream/downstream formula. The major variant is the use of two different verbs (*hsf*, cf. Wb. III 337.15 and *hnty*, cf. Wb. III 309) for “to sail upstream.” The Appeal of

¹³ There could also be a connection to the post-mortem voyages up and downstream to Sais and Abydos attested in Egyptian funerary literature, if the audience for the texts can be extended to include the dead.

¹⁴ Stelae Alnwick Castle 1932 (Dedu), BM 569 (Sahathor), BM 584 (Khuenbik), CG 20027 (Senetites). CG 20458 (Amenyankhren). CG 20538 (Sehetepibre), and Stuttgart 10 (Samenkh).

Harkhuf uses *hsf*, whereas the Appeal of Pepiankh hery-ib at Meir uses *hnty*, so both terms were in use from the beginning of the expression. The First Intermediate Period examples from Abydos, Asyut, and Naga ed-Deir all use *hnty*. From the Middle Kingdom, five of the Abydene stelae¹⁵ use *hsf* and the other two¹⁶ just use ideograms, so one cannot tell which if the two words was meant. Both examples from Haraga use *hnty*, so it is possible that there is a pattern of regional and chronological preference. But whereas in the tomb of Sarenput I (Qubbet el-Hawa no. 36) *hsf* is used, *hnt* is used on Sarenput's stela from the Elephantine sanctuary of Heqaib (no. 10 line 18). Therefore, it appears that the two words are really interchangeable and that the flexibility to use one or the other is inherent in the formula.

7.4 Terms for people in general

Following on the inclusiveness of “those who (still) live on earth” and “those who love life and who hate death,” many Appeals are addressed to anyone, using the Egyptian word for person (*rmṯ*) or man (*si*). These generic invocations are most common in the Old Kingdom, but continue in every subsequent period through the New Kingdom. People in general are called upon in about 40 percent of the Old Kingdom Appeals (15 out of 35) in the study sample. The address to the visitors as found in Old Kingdom tombs makes up the majority of these examples. Following Edel (1944 p. 2) and Sottas (1913 p. 58), scholars¹⁷ have defined the address to visitors as beginning with the phrase “as for

¹⁵ Stelae Alnwick Castle 1932 (Dedu), BM 569 (Sahathor), BM 584 (Khuenbik), CG 20017 (Senetites) and CG 20458 (Amenyankhren).

¹⁶ Stelae CG 20538 (Sehetepibre) and Stuttgart 10 (Samenkh).

¹⁷ For example, Guksch 1994 p. 24 and Demarée 1983 p. 206 n. 77.

anybody” (*ir rmt nb*) and have indicated that this is attested from Dynasty 4 through Dynasty 20.

Most of these people seem to have been male, as can be seen from the more specific invocations and the use of the word for “man” (*si*) in several Appeals, such as that of Metjetjy (Kaplony 1968 pl. III). Among these Appeals directly referring to a man are two Old Kingdom Appeals from females, those of Denwen and Sefegat. For example, the Appeal of Sefegat (Fischer 1976 fig. 12) from Saqqara runs:

As for any man who shall enter after having purified (himself)
in order to make invocation offerings at this my tomb,
I shall be his protector at the tribunal of the great god,
having granted success to his business and in his life.

The suffix pronouns used are also masculine, so there can be little doubt that the Appeal was addressed to men, as opposed to women.¹⁸ Only a small percentage of the population in Old Kingdom Egypt would have been able to read (Baines and Eyre 1983), and most of those who were literate would have been men trained as officials in the state or temple bureaucracies. It appears that those who could be expected to visit the tombs of the dead were either men or groups led by men, an indication of a patriarchal society.¹⁹

Many visitors to these Old Kingdom tombs would have been local,²⁰ and the generic invocations would apply to local residents, as well as travellers who might visit the

¹⁸ The feminine suffix pronoun is used referring to Sefegat in the phrase “she says,” but when she indicates that she is an efficient and well-equipped *3h*-spirit, there are no feminine endings.

¹⁹ For discussions of female literacy, see Robins 1993 pp. 111-114 and Shubert 2001.

²⁰ The First Intermediate period Appeal of Henqu from Deir el-Gebrawi invokes the people of his nome (*rmtw nyw 3ft*).

tombs. For example, the Appeal of Bia/Irery from Saqqara (Wilson 1954 p. 256 & fig. 1) contains the following passage:

An invocation offering to my father,
from every companion, every son,
everybody, and every scribe
who shall pass this tomb of mine,
and who shall read aloud this (false) door!
I will be his supporter in the council of the great god.

This is an unusual request of the deceased for invocations on behalf of his father. The words for brother and companion both derive from the Egyptian word for “two” (*snwy*); Wilson (1954 p. 257) notes the possibility that the term “companion” ‘might have been corrupted out of “every brother.”’ But rather than referring to family, this Appeal seems to refer to more generic relationships that would induce male Egyptian officials visiting the cemetery to consider his request favourably. Again the use of the term “everybody” (*rmtw nb*) indicates an inclusiveness beyond family. All the literate male officials visiting the tomb would have been companions, sons, and scribes,²¹ so these terms would set up a commonality between the deceased and the visitor. The only requirements are expressed in the two *sdm.ty.fy* forms, that the person actually pass by the tomb and that they be able to read the Appeal.

Appeals to the local population continue throughout the pharaonic period. From the First Intermediate Period, the Appeal of Henqu from Deir el-Gebrawi tomb 67 is addressed to the people of his local nome (*rmtw nyw 3tft*). People of Abydos (*rmtw nbw n(y)t 3bdw*), as well as any citizen of this town (*‘nh nb n(y) niwt tn*), are addressed on the 12th Dynasty

²¹ The deceased states “I am an excellent scribe” in several Old Kingdom Appeals, e.g. those of Metjetjy (Saqqara), Kaiherptah (Giza) and Isi (Saqqara).

stela of Sehetepibre (CG 20538) from Abydos.²² People of Karnak (*rmꜥw n(y) Ipt-swꜥ*) or southern Heliopolis (*rmꜥw Twꜥw šmꜥw*) are invoked in the New Kingdom Appeals of Amenhotep son of Hapu (statue Luxor 4) and Paser (Theban tomb 106). ‘Everyone who is in Akhetaten’ is called upon in the Appeal of Panehsy from Amarna (tomb 6). Amenhotep son of Hapu also invokes all people by calling on every eye that sees the sun disc (*irt nbt mꜣt itm*), as well as on all of Upper and Lower Egypt (statue JE 44861).

The appeal to family members is done in a context of reciprocal duties and benefits. As the deceased treated his ancestors, so should his descendants treat the deceased. There is thus an implied continuity between future and past generations. In each case a reciprocal arrangement is envisaged whereby in return for treating one’s ancestors right, one expects to be treated well by one’s descendants. For example, both the Appeals of Ankhmahor (Urk. I 201.17) and Khuiwer (Urk. I 46.10-12) evoke good wishes, such as prosperity (*wꜣd*) and justification (*mꜣꜥ-hrw*), upon ancestors and descendants alike. There is no set formula, but the *quid pro quo* is expressed in both positive and negative terms. Nekhebu (Urk. I 217.17-218.4) explains the situation in positive terms:

(Do you want) to be revered by your lords and
 (by) your (fore)fathers in the necropolis?
 Then make invocation offerings of bread and beer
 in the same way as I have done for your ancestors.
 Since you want me to watch over you in the necropolis,
 tell your children on the day wherein I have departed
 the words of the invocation offering (of bread and beer) for me ...

The question is rhetorical and the promise is implicit. Nekhebu has acted properly in making offerings to his ancestors and therefore merits such offerings himself. Though

²² Citizens of the town are also invoked by MK stela CG 20539 (Montuhotep) and 18th Dynasty statue CG 583 (Amenhotep son of Hapu). Any people from Thinite Abydos (*rmꜥw nbt n(y)w tꜣ-wr ꜣbdw*) are invoked on MK stela Leiden V2 (Imyhat).

dead, he can still offer protection to his descendants when they are buried. The hope is expressed that the offerings will be carried through the generations as children are instructed in the proper invocation offerings. If the living generation acts properly to the dead, such as Nekhebu, then they too can expect to be treated well and receive invocation offerings from their descendants. There is an implied threat that these descendants could misappropriate the tomb for their own use. So the Appeal of Ankhmahor (Urk. I 202.1) states: “As for anything that you shall do against this tomb of mine of the necropolis, the like will be done against your possessions.”²³

Only in the Appeal of Metjetjy are actual family members specified. In Kaplony’s text (1968 pl. III), the son and brother of the deceased are mentioned along with “any man of my estate.” The sign for brother (*sn*), however, is far from clear in the photo in Ziegler (1999 p. 411) and could in fact be the *hm* sign (Gardiner U36) indicating a servant, as it is translated by Ziegler. Rather than calling upon family members, therefore, this may be a case of a high official calling upon his subordinates to make offerings at his tomb. Again the deceased assures the living that he will see that it is to their advantage to pay their respects.

The hierarchical nature of ancient Egyptian society is reflected by indications of social rank found in some of the Appeal invocations; these are not, however, very frequent. In the Old Kingdom, a small number of Appeals are addressed to servants (*b3kw*). The word *b3k* is connected with a root meaning “to work,” which was used in connection with labour revenues, taxes, and workmanship (Wb. I 427.13). In the Old Kingdom Appeals of

²³ Edel 1944 p. 18 and the same sentiment in the Appeal of Khuiwer (Urk. I 45.12).

Pepini from Abydos (stela CG 1597) and Djaou from Deir el-Gebrawi tomb 12, the phrase *b3kw mityw.i* is used in the invocation; the noun is followed by the preposition “like,” so the phrase translates as “servants like myself.” This concept may recognize the situation that everyone in ancient Egypt, except for the king, was subordinate to someone else and, therefore, was in some way a servant. The Appeal of Isi (Helck 1977 p. 80) from Saqqara is addressed to “servants of the house of my lord” (*b3kw nyw pr nb.i*), referring to the staff of the funerary temple of Unas at which Isi also worked, as he says “I am Isi, one of you.”

The 12th Dynasty Appeal of Djefa-Hapi (Urk. VII 53) has an uncharacteristic address to visitors that emphasizes lower class Egyptians:

As for all people, any scribe,
any learned person, any commoner,
any poor man who shall make a raucous voice,
who shall harm its inscriptions or
who shall damage its figures!

The terms used here are only rarely found in other Appeal inscriptions.²⁴ The choice of terms may well be defined by the categories of people felt likely to damage the tomb decoration or inscriptions. Three of these terms, *tw3(w)* or poor man, *rh-ht* or learned man, and *nds* or commoner are also found in the invocation of Puyemre (Theban tomb 39) from the 18th Dynasty. The coincidence is so great that it is generally accepted that Puyemre must have seen and copied his inscription in Thebes from that of Djefa-Hapi at Asyut (Manuelian 1994 p. 15).

²⁴ The term for commoner (*nds*) is also found in the Appeal on the Middle Kingdom statue of Senebbu from the Elephantine sanctuary of Heqaib (no. 49). The term for learned man (*rh-ht*) is also found in the Appeal on the FIP tomb no. 3 of It-ibi at Asyut.

From the 18th Dynasty tomb of Djehuty at Hierakonpolis (Urk. IV 133.8) comes an invocation to both noble and common folk (*p^cwt nb(t) rhyt nbt*). Both terms individually are rather all inclusive and can stand for mankind in general, but when paired in this way may indicate both the upper and lower classes. Ineni addresses his Appeal in Theban tomb 81 (Urk. IV 61.3) to the *rhyt* or common folk in the sense of subjects of the king (Wb. II 447.11). The upper class Egyptian elite are included in the invocation of the 19th Dynasty Memphite statue (Leiden D38) of Hormin (KRI I p. 314.14): “O all people, all patricians and every scribe” (*i rmtw nbw iry-p^ct nbwt sš nb*). The word for patricians is *iry-p^ct*, which may be translated as “hereditary noble” or even “prince” (Strudwick 2005 p. 27 and Ward 1982 p. 102), but has the same root as the word for upper class or nobles (*p^cw*) in the Appeal of Djehuty from Hierakonpolis noted above. “Noble ones of Pi-Mehyt” are appealed to in the statue of Anhurnakhte (Linköping 189) with the word *špsywt* and a determinative of a seated woman (KRI IV 375.11), suggesting that only ladies were intended.

A number of New Kingdom Appeals explicitly invoke future generations. The Appeal of Ay from Amarna tomb 25 (Urk. IV 1998.3) calls upon every generation who shall come into being (*d3mw nb hpr*), with the participle treated as either an explicit or implicit future. A clearer future is expressed with the relative adjective followed by the preposition “*r*” plus infinitive²⁵ in two Appeals by Roma Roy at Karnak; statue CG 42185 (KRI IV p. 288) calls for generations which will come (*d3mw nty r hpr*) to praise Roma Roy, while the “many generations who will come (in future)” (*d3mw ššyw nty r*

²⁵ This form is also found on the Zawyet Sultan tomb of Nefersekheru, i.e. those who will come into being (*nty(w) r hpr*) are invoked in the Appeal on the west wall of the cult chamber (Osing 1992 pl. 35).

hpr) are invoked on statue CG 42186 (KRI IV p. 209). Another variation is found in the Zawyet Sultan Appeal of Nefersekheru (Osing 1992 pl. 43); here *d3mw* is followed by the compound preposition *imyw-ht* used of time (Gardiner 1957 p. 133). The invocation reads “all people who shall come (here), generations who are later in eternity” (*d3mw imyw-ht nhh*). A similar construction is found on the 19th Dynasty stela Stockholm 25 of Huysheery (KRI I 332.16) where *m-ht* is used after *rmṯ*; here the deceased is recorded as saying “I am speaking to you, people of later times who have come into being after me” (*dd.i n.tn rmṯw n(ty) m-ht hpriw hr-s3.i*). The same idea is also expressed with *rmṯ* and a *sḏm.ty.fy* form in the Appeal of Khaemhat in Theban tomb 57 (Urk. IV 1845.8), where “people who shall come in to being (in future)” (*rmṯ hpr.t(y).sn*) are invoked.

Most of the Appeals studied implicitly evoke future generations in that the idea of those who come after the deceased being meant to provide benefits for the deceased in the Afterlife is the *raison d’être* of the Appeals. One early Appeal that explicitly expresses that idea is the First Intermediate Appeal of It-ibi from Asyut tomb no. 3 (Brunner 1937 p. 42); there “those who are born and who will be born” in the future (*msw ntyw r mst*) are invoked.

7.5 Clerical titles

Priests and religious officials are frequently invoked in ancient Egyptian Appeal texts. While there is wide variation from text to text, general trends can be distinguished period by period and according to priestly title. Lector priests are specifically singled out in Old Kingdom Appeals; they continue to be invoked on a regular basis throughout Egyptian

history. Other mortuary priests, such as *k3*-priests and embalmers also find a prominent place in the Old Kingdom Appeals. At least until Dynasty 11 and the Appeal of Meru (Turin Suppl. 1447), Upper Egyptian Appeals do not invoke priests or any other specific class of people; most of the First Intermediate Period Appeals are from Upper Egypt and Hatnub. First Intermediate Period Appeals from Lower and Middle Egypt do invoke specific classes of people, but rarely priests; the exception is the stela of Iti from Saqqara (Urk. I 197) which invokes a lector priest. Regular temple staff, as a whole or by office, are invoked by Middle and New Kingdom Appeals. Pure ones or *w'ḥ*-priests are the most frequently mentioned, followed by god's servants (*ḥmw-ntr*) or prophets. Controllers of (priestly) phyles (*mty n(y) s3w*) are invoked in several Middle Kingdom Appeals. Acolytes or assistant priests (*imyw st-ḥ*) are invoked in several Appeals from the 18th Dynasty. Divine (or god's) fathers are invoked in the Second Intermediate Period and New Kingdom, appearing most frequently in Ramesside Appeals.

7.5.1 Lector priests

The lector priest (*hry-ḥb*), or “bearer of the ritual scroll,” is the priest most closely connected with the Appeal texts. Lector priests would have actually recited the spells and magical incantations during the funerary service, as well as during services in the temple.²⁶ The Old Kingdom (and First Intermediate Period) Appeals are probably directed to the lector priests who conducted the funeral for the deceased and who would have maintained the funerary cult; the Appeals would function as an additional inducement to the funerary endowments for the lector priests to perform their duties. In the Middle and New Kingdoms, Appeals are directed more generally to temple staff;

²⁶ On lector priests see Doxey 2001 p. 69, Quirke 1992 p. 103, and Otto 1975.

lector priests are listed alongside other types of priests, such as pure ones (*w^cb*-priests) and *k3*-priests, with the type of priest addressed perhaps more related to the numbers available for the task than to any specific duty they performed.

Appeals from the Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period give specific information about the role of the lector priest. As one who regularly read out or recited spells, the primary role of the lector priest envisaged in the Appeal texts was to read out the name of the deceased and to recite the funerary prayer for him. The Appeal of the royal chamberlain Iti from Saqqara (Urk. I 197) states:

As for (any) skilled lector priest,
(any properly) equipped *3h*-spirit,
who shall read out [for] any man his
invocation offering of bread and beer to me,
I will be behind him in the court of the great god,
(namely) the royal chamberlain Iti.

Here the ability of the lector priest to read is emphasized. Though Iti may be offering his support for the recitation of anyone's offertory prayer, more likely it is specifically his own that are meant. The text is not entirely clear since a preposition has been omitted, but the reference to "any man" (*st nb*) is best interpreted as referring to an audience to whom the lector priest would read out Iti's Appeal. The ability to read may have been confined largely to those with priestly training (who may also have held civil offices); with his public speaking ability, the lector priest would have been the ideal candidate to read out an Appeal to illiterate visitors to the necropolis.

The Appeal of Kaiherptah (Urk. I 186.14) states that the lector priest who performs the rites beneficial to Thoth (*tr.ty.fy n.(i) ht 3ht n Dhwty*) will be beloved of both the king and

Anubis, the god of embalming. Khui (Drioton 1943 p. 503) offers the reward to:

every lector priest who shall come
in order to make ritual recitations for me
(and to make) offerings according to that
secret writing of the craft of the lector priest,
reading those well-equipped spells
as you shall do for every king as well.

Thus, the funerary spells for the nobles were considered to be the same as those performed for the deceased kings. The ritual recitations are the texts of spiritualization (*s3hw*) or the spells that lead to the establishment of the deceased as an *3h* spirit among the blessed dead. In addition to these magical declamations, the lector priest is to make offerings according to the secret writings of the craft. Ankhmahor (Urk. I 202.2) probably refers to the same thing when he states that he is ‘an excellent lector priest who knows the book of “The Secret Deed of all Magic” which I enact expertly (*ir ikr*).’ Ankhmahor (Urk. I 202.15) also calls upon any lector priest in his tomb to recite the spells of transformation (*s3hw*), as well as to perform the beneficial rites (*irt ht ikr*).

These lector priests from the Old Kingdom, and presumably later as well, would have been privy to much specialized knowledge. Because of this knowledge, lector priests retained abilities and powers that were much respected in ancient Egypt. In many of the Appeals the deceased describes himself as a lector priest, indicating in this way his worthiness to be treated with respect by others, especially by his fellow lector priests. Mereruka and Ti state in their Appeals (Urk. I 173.18-174.3 and 87.16-88.2) some of the specific secret knowledge that they gained through their service as a lector priest (*m wnw t hry-hb*), namely:

I know every effective rite (*ht nbt 3ht*) through which
 one becomes an *3h* spirit that travels in the necropolis.
 I know every rite through which it is equipped by the great god.
 I know every rite through which it ascends to the great god,
 I know every rite through which it is ennobled by the (great) god.

The knowledge of the lector priest, therefore, relates directly to the success of the deceased in the Afterlife, where the deceased will become an *3h* spirit. In essence, this knowledge is the reason for the specialized Appeals; they are addressed to the experts most likely to be able to help the deceased. It seems a foregone conclusion that any lector priest on earth will become an *3h* spirit once buried in the necropolis. Harkhuf (Urk. I 122.13) indicates this connection by stating “I am an *3h* spirit (properly) skilled and equipped, a lector priest who knows his speech.” Nyankhpepy (Hassan 1975 fig. 39) makes a similar connection whilst noting that “no magic secrets are effective against me.”

After the Old Kingdom, there are no longer any Appeals addressed exclusively to lector priests. Lector priests, however, continue to figure prominently among the different grades of priests that are listed in the Appeal invocations; they are the most frequently appearing priestly office in the Middle Kingdom Appeals, especially in those from Abydos. In the 18th and 19th Dynasties, lector priests are the second most frequently named priestly office in the Appeal invocations, behind only the pure ones (*w^cb* priests).²⁷ Only rarely is any special skill attached to the lector priests in the New Kingdom Appeals, as in the late Dynasty 18 Appeal of Tjawy (Boston MFA 1972.651) which invokes any “lector priest skilled in the written script.” On stela Louvre C55 (Nakhtmin) from Akhmim (Urk. IV 1536) lector priests of Osiris are invoked just ahead of “any who

²⁷ In Middle Kingdom Appeals outside Abydos, pure ones appear slightly more frequently in the invocations than lector priests; the two offices appear the same number of times in the Second Intermediate Period Appeals in the study sample.

are skilled in the written script.” So the special connection of the lector priest with the written word continues through the New Kingdom. Lector priests of Amun are mentioned on the block statue of Senenmut (BM 1513) set up at Karnak Temple.

In addition to being attached to the cult temples of different deities, such as Amun and Osiris, lector priests continue to be connected to the funerary cult in the New Kingdom, just as they had been in the Old Kingdom. On the 18th Dynasty scribe statue Ashmolean Museum 1913.163 (Urk. IV 1800.9-12), Amenhotep invokes:

any scribe, any lector priest, any pure one of the temple,
(even) the priesthood of the entire temple,
anyone who shall give my (offering) loaf to the lector priest
who is in my chapel during the course of every day.

The first mention of a lector priest seems to refer to a position of the regular cult temple staff, whereas the second mention seems to refer to the lector priest dedicated to the personal cult of Amenhotep. The statue was located in the temple of Ptah in Memphis and would have been accessible to temple staff there, but Amenhotep would also have had a tomb in the Memphite necropolis. The Appeal offers benefits to the temple staff member who would provide offerings to the lector priest who maintained the cult at Amenhotep's tomb in the necropolis.

7.5.2 Mortuary priests and embalmers

Along with lector priests who would ensure a proper burial for the deceased, mortuary priests (*hmw-k3*) would come to the cemetery to ensure the proper maintenance of the funerary cult (Kaplony 1978). Though most of their work would have been finished long before the burial, embalmers evidently came to the cemetery to check on their work.

Since these priests would be coming to the necropolis to perform their duties, they were obvious targets for the Appeals to acknowledge. Embalmers are mentioned in both Old and Middle Kingdom Appeals, whereas mortuary priests appear in Appeals from the Old through New Kingdoms.²⁸

The first of three Dynasty 6 Appeals of Nekhebu from Giza (Urk. I 127.15-128.1) is addressed to the mortuary priests:

O *k3*-priests of the revered dead!
Do you want the king to praise you?
(Do you want) to be revered by your lords and
(by) your (fore)fathers in the necropolis?
Then make invocation offerings of bread and beer
in the same way that I have done for your ancestors.

The mortuary or *k3*-priests would have been responsible for the offerings made to the deceased, such as bread and beer, as well as the appropriate offertory prayers, though a lector priest would have been responsible for the complete ritual.²⁹ So it is appropriate that lector and mortuary priests are invoked together in the Sixth Dynasty Appeal of Khentika from Saqqara (James 1953 pl. 5) and in the Twelfth Dynasty stela of Mutwer from the Elephantine sanctuary of Heqaib (no. 46). Also from the Twelfth Dynasty are Appeals of Nebipu and Sepi from Haraga (Engelbach 1923 pl. LXXII), which include mortuary priests, but not in association with lector priests.

At Abydos, mortuary priests do not appear in the Appeals until the Thirteenth Dynasty.

The 13th Dynasty Appeal of Ramenyankh (Simpson 1974 pl. 52) from Abydos calls upon

²⁸ For background on these priests, see Ward 1982 nos. 754 and 941 and Strouhal 1992 pp. 258-266. A general discussion on embalming in ancient Egypt is found in Brier 1994 ch. 2.

²⁹ Based on the 11th Dynasty stela of Intef (BM 134), cf. Clère and Vandier 1948 no. 33 and Taylor 2001 p. 177.

“all *k3*–priests of the temple of the Foremost-of-the-westerners.” Therefore, these mortuary priests were associated with temple staff. This association may explain why in the late Middle Kingdom and New Kingdom, mortuary priests appear in Appeal invocations alongside lector priests, pure ones, and scribes.³⁰

The two early Dynasty 6 Appeals written on the sarcophagus lid of the deceased mention embalmers (*wtyw*); these Appeals are indicative of a concern that the lid be properly placed over the sarcophagus itself during the funeral of the deceased. Once the deceased was buried, nobody would be expected to view the sarcophagus again. The injunction of Nyankhpepy (Hassan 1975 v.3 p. 77) against thieves “who shall seize a stone from its mother” refers to the removal of the sarcophagus lid from the sarcophagus chest; it suggests that thieves might either remove the sarcophagus lid for its own value or as a first step to despoiling the deceased.³¹ The Appeals of Ankhmahor and Khentika suggest that sometimes the sarcophagus lid had not been properly placed upon the sarcophagus base during the funeral. The two tombs are both located just to the north of the Pyramid of King Teti at Saqqara; it may very well be that there was some local incident in this area that prompted these two men to put a special appeal in their tombs that their sarcophagi should be properly sealed.³²

³⁰ Examples from the late Middle Kingdom include the Abydos stela of Samenkhet (CG 20030), the Abydos stela of Rehw-ankh (Berlin 7311), the Dahshur statue pedestal of Iti (Fakhry 1961 p. 42), the Saqqara stela of Neferher (JE 51733) and the stela of Renpif (BM 240). Examples from the New Kingdom include the Karnak pair statue of Amenuser (CG 42118), the scribal statue of Djehuty (Brooklyn 37.50), the block statue of Weser (Louvre A.127), the stela of Weser (Grenoble no. 1954) from Theban tomb 131, and the Deir el-Bahri block statue of Paser (CG 561). This combination is also found on the Second Intermediate Period stela of Prince Ameni (Moscow no. 4156) from Dendera.

³¹ This was not actually necessary, as shown by the sarcophagus of Ankhmahor, which was breached through a hole in the side of the base (Firth and Gunn 1926 pp. 16-17).

³² Firth and Gunn (1926 p. 99) suggest that either negligence or dishonesty may have been the reason.

Both the Appeals of Ankhmahor (Urk. I 205.1) and Khentika (Urk. I 205.11) mention 80 men; Khentika calls them “eighty men of the necropolis.” In addition to embalmers (*wtyw*), Ankhmahor mentions administrators of the necropolis (*hk3(w) hrt-ntr*) and Khentika mentions lector priests (*hryw-hb*). The eighty men may be the total number that would participate in a funeral, or more likely the total staff complement of the embalming chamber (*wʿbt*). In each of these two Appeals mention is made of descending to this place, meaning the bottom of the burial shaft where the sarcophagus was placed. In the tomb of Ankhmahor, there is a shelf behind the sarcophagus where the lid would have been placed until the corpse and coffin of the deceased were lowered into the burial shaft and placed in the sarcophagus. The burial chamber measures 6m by 2.5m with a niche for the sarcophagus; access is down an 11m deep shaft (Firth and Gunn 1926 p. 17). It is unlikely that eighty people would have descended into the tomb shaft during a single burial, even if we allow for them to do so in shifts. By this time the work of embalmers and administrators would have been done and strong backs would have been needed to maneuver the coffin into place and to slide the sarcophagus lid on top of the base. It is questionable whether there would even have been enough light to allow someone who was literate to read the inscription on the edge of the sarcophagus lid, though no doubt torches could be used and sunlight could be reflected down the tomb shaft.

The Appeal of Khentika (Urk. I 205.14-16) offers a reward of protection by the deceased, if the sarcophagus lid is closed correctly:

It is efficiently that you should place this lid upon
its mother for me, because I am Khentika, possessor of love.

(Then) I will be your protector [in the necropolis].

Also mentioned are the favour of the king, honour before the great god, and attainment of a burial in the necropolis. Ankhhmahor (Urk. I 205.5-8) also offers the favour of the king and honour of the great god, as well as flattery to those who would close his sarcophagus:

It is through the efficacy of your knowledge that you should
place this cover of this sarcophagus upon its mother for me,
just as you would for an excellent 3h spirit,
who does what his lord praises. I am Sesi, possessor of love.

There was then most probably a special technique used to shift the lid of the sarcophagus from the shelf unto the base, presumably through the use of ropes that would be manipulated efficiently (*m bw mnḥ*). Such knowledge of how to manipulate the ropes and direct the workmen may well have required some sort of official or overseer to descend into the tomb shaft and direct the workmen. The Appeals of Ankhhmahor and Khentika may well have been directed at him, to ensure that the job was completed carefully and completely.

7.5.3 God's servants and pure ones

There was no separate priestly class in Egypt before the New Kingdom. In the Old Kingdom, First Intermediate Period, and Middle Kingdom almost all men of the elite classes, and many of the women as well, would have held priestly office. The priestly temple staffs were organized into phyles or shifts, each of which would have worked in the temple for a month about three times each year (Kemp 1989 pp. 112-3, Roth 1991, Schafer 1997 p. 9). For the rest of the year they would have worked at their civilian jobs, in a situation not unlike that of the military reserves today. The leaders of these work teams are invoked on Middle Kingdom Abydene stelae CG 20093 (Seneb), CG 20538

(Sehetepibre), and CG 20539 (Montuhotep). In the New Kingdom a full-time priestly class emerged, but even then the same individual could hold positions in a number of different temples. For the lower clerical offices, at least, the system of phyles continued in the New Kingdom. For example, on the 19th Dynasty block statue of Meryenptah from Nebesheh (KRI III pp. 247-8) “any pure one in his month” (*w^cb nb imy 3bd*) is invoked. The pure one in his month was the *w^cb* priest on duty; after a month in service, he would have three months off before being called to serve again, based on the number of attested phyles.

Cult temples were served by two basic ranks of clerics, the upper level god’s servants (*hmw-ntr*) and the lower level pure ones (*w^cbw*).³³ Both priestly classes appear only infrequently in Old Kingdom Appeals³⁴ and not at all in the First Intermediate Period Appeals in the study sample. Both priestly classes are frequently invoked, however, in Appeals from the Middle Kingdom; the pure ones are more frequently invoked than the god’s servants in all periods and would have been the more numerous priestly class.

The god’s servants (*hmw-ntr*), or prophets, had access to the cult image and performed rituals in front of it. They are regularly invoked in the Middle Kingdom Appeals on stelae from Abydos³⁵ and elsewhere.³⁶ In the Middle Kingdom Appeals of Sehetepibre

³³ For a more detailed discussion of the distinction between these two ranks of priests, see Gee 2004.

³⁴ God’s servants appear on stela CG 1431 from Abydos (Djaou) and pure ones appear on the Appeal of Isi from Saqqara (OK.3).

³⁵ At least 12 times in addition to the examples discussed below: Turin 1447 (Meru), CG 20017 (Senetites), CG 20026 (Dedusobek), CG 20401 (Wenemty-kheper-ka-ra), Basel no. 5002 (Sa-satet), Geneva D50 (Ameny), Alnwick Castle 1932 (Dedu), Leiden V2 (Imyhat), Munich WAG 35 (Wepwawet), CG 20518 (Khnumnakht), BM 829 (Minnefer) and Louvre C166 (Sa-sopdu).

³⁶ On the Ankhu and Sepnimut pair statue from Dahshur, on an anonymous stela from the Elephantine sanctuary of Heqaib (no. 88) and in Haraga tomb 140 of Nebipu.

(CG 20538) and Montuhotep (CG 20539) the god's servants are divided into senior (ʕ) and ordinary grades (ʕš), which presumably refers to the chief priest vs. regular temple clergy. Inspectors (*shdw*) and overseers (*imy-r3*) of god's servants also occasionally appear in Appeal texts.³⁷ In the New Kingdom, whereas the majority of Appeals including god's servants come from temples, a number of Appeals from tombs include them as well.³⁸

The pure ones (*wʕbw*) or *wʕb*-priests are lower-ranked priests who would have handled the cultic objects and done work in preparation for the cultic rituals, but who would not have had access to the cult image itself (Schäfer 1997 and Velde 1994). The god's servants would have been promoted from the ranks of the pure ones and other priestly offices. Starting in the Middle Kingdom, Appeals frequently include a string of priestly titles, the most popular of which is "pure one" (*wʕb*). Not only was this the most numerous class of priest, but they would be working in the areas of the temple in which private individuals were allowed to set up their statues. Appeals to pure ones are typically found alongside those to lector priests in the Middle Kingdom, both at Abydos³⁹ and elsewhere.⁴⁰

³⁷ Inspectors are appealed to on the Middle Kingdom Abydene stela of Wepwawet (Munich WAG 35) and the Second Intermediate Period stela of Prince Ameny from Dendera (Moscow 4156). Overseers are appealed to on the 6th Dynasty Abydene stela of Djaou (CG 1431) and the 12th Dynasty Abydene stela of Sehetepibre (CG 20538)

³⁸ From tombs: Nebamun (TT 24), Nebsumenu (TT 183), Nefermenu (TT 184), Pahery (el-Kab 3), Senemiah (TT 127), Weser (TT 131). From temples: Ahmose (Karnak stela KE 59636), Amenhotep son of Hapu (Karnak statue CG 583), Bakenkhonsu (Karnak statue Munich WAF 38), Didia (Theban stela Louvre C50), Didia (Deir el-Bahri stela BM 706), Didia (Karnak statue CG 42122), Ithu-weser (Theban stela Oxford E.3916), Menmesu (Medamud statue Louvre E.12985), Meryenptah (Nebesheh statue KRI III pp.247-8), Paser (Deir el-Bahri statue UM E.534), Paser (Deir el-Bahri statue CG 561), Pattisy (Tell el-Baqieh statue Mansoura 26), Roma-Roy (Karnak statue CG 42186), Weser (Karnak statue Louvre A.127) and Userhat (Deir el-Bahri stela MMA 05.4.2).

³⁹ Pure ones and lector priests: CG 20030 (Samenkhet ?), CG 20088 (Tetu), CG 20401 (Wenemty-kheper-ka-re), CG 20458 (Amenyankhren), Geneva D50 (Ameny), Oxford 1113 (Ankhren), Stuttgart 10

The length of the strings of titles in the Appeals varies from one to as many as eight or nine (in the Abydene Middle Kingdom stelae of Sehetepibre CG 20538 and Montuhotep CG 20539). In the Middle Kingdom, the average is four titles in Abydos, but three titles outside of Abydos. In the 17th and 18th Dynasties the average is four titles, but in the Ramesside Period this declines to 3.6 titles on average. Though there is great variety in the titles included, a standard string from the New Kingdom includes pure ones (*w^cbw*), lector priests (*hryw-hb*), god's servants (*hmw-ntr*), and scribes (*sšw*).⁴¹ Variants with only three of these titles, sometimes joined with divine fathers (*itw-ntr*) are also popular.⁴² Although known as a title from earlier periods (see Ward 1982 pp. 69-70), the divine father seems not to have been a regular part of temple staffs until the New Kingdom (Doxey 2001 p. 72).

(Samenkh), Tübingen 458 (Sobekhotep). Lector priests are also appealed to on Alnwick Castle 1932 (Dedu), Basel no. 5002 (Sa-satet), CG 20538 (Sehetepibre), CG 20748 (Ramenyankh), CG 20540 (Burekhef), CG 20683 (Iykhernofret), and Florence 1540 (Neferniy). Pure ones are also appealed to in BM 829 (Minnefer), CG 20017 (Sentites), CG 20026 (Dedusobek), CG 20093 (Seneb), Leiden V2 (Imyhat), and Turin 1628 (Senpu)

⁴⁰ Pure ones and lector priests: Liverpool M 13846 (Ipi), Fajhedwy block statue, Khentywka statue pedestal and Iti statue pedestal from Dahshur and the Ameny block statue from Saqqara. Lector priests also are appealed to on the Mutwer stela (Heqaib no. 46) and the Senpu statue (Heqaib no. 72) from Elephantine. Pure ones are also appealed to in Haraga tomb 140 (Nebipu), stela Copenhagen AEIN 1539 of Sepi from Haraga, an anonymous stela from Elephantine (Heqaib no. 88), in the Sehel graffito of Antef and on the Hatnub stela published by Simpson (1976).

⁴¹ Ahmose (Karnak statue CG 583), Didia (statues Louvre C50, BM 706 & CG 42122), Djehutynefer (TT 104), Nebamun (TT 24), Senemiah (TT 127), Tjunroy (statue CG 1105) and Weser (Karnak statue Louvre A.127).

⁴² Pure one, lector priest and scribe: Amenuser (Karnak statue CG 42118), Djehuty (Hierakonpolis tomb), Meryptah (stela Leiden V14), Imiseba (TT 65), Intef (TT 155), Ithu-weser (stela Oxford E.3916), Iuny (statue MMA 33.2.1), Neferhotep (stela CG 34057), Neferrenpet (stela Louvre C108), Pahemnetjer (statue JE 89046), Paser (CG 651), Tjawy (relief Boston MFA 1972.651) and Weser (TT 131). Most of the Ramesside examples also include divine fathers (*itw-ntr*). Pure one, lector priest and god's servant: Amenhotep (statue Oxford 1913.163), Amenhotep son of Hapu (statue CG 583), Menmesu (statue Louvre E.12985), Meryenptah (Nebesheh KRI III pp. 247-8), Panekhuertawy (stela JE 21801), and Userhat (stela MMA 05.4.2). These three titles with divine father are found in Pattisy's (Tell el Baqlih), Nebseumenu's (TT 183) and Nefermenu's (TT 184) Appeals.

In most cases only the rank of pure one is specified and not the institution or deity to which it was connected. The invocation of the second Appeal on the stela of Sehetepibre at Abydos (CG 20538) is an exception; here is invoked (Sethe 1928 p. 69):

pure ones of Osiris Foremost-of-the-westerners in Abydos,
(the) temple priesthood of this god,
pure ones of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt
Ammenemes III, who lives forever unto eternity (and of)
the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Sesostri III, justified.

The pure ones not only of the main temple of Osiris at Abydos are invoked, but also those pure ones who are connected with the cult of the 12th Dynasty kings Ammenemes III and Sesostri III. The 11th Dynasty stela of Meru (Turin 1447) invokes the pure ones of the great god (*w^cbw nyw ntr ʿ3*) which probably refers to Osiris, but which possibly relates to the king. Also from the Middle Kingdom, the stela of Sarenput from the Elephantine sanctuary of Heqaib (no. 10) calls upon the pure ones of the hereditary noble Heqaib (*w^cbw nyw iry-p^t Hk3-ib*).

In the New Kingdom, the Appeals provide some evidence for different ranks of pure ones. In the 18th Dynasty tomb (el-Kab no. 3) of Pahery, pure ones and their attendants (*iryw.sn*) are addressed. Masters of pure ones (*hryw w^cbw*) are invoked on the 19th Dynasty statue of Pahemnetjer from Saqqara (JE 89046) and on the 19th Dynasty stela of Tjia (Florence 2532). From the Amarna tomb (no. 8) of Tutu is an invocation to the chief pure ones of the Aten temple (*w^cbw ʿ3w n(y) pr-Itn*). This could refer to the senior as opposed to junior staff, but given the evidence from Ramesside times, is more likely to represent an actual leader of the pure ones of the temple. The 19th Dynasty statue of

Paser (Philadelphia UM E.534) invokes the pure ones of Akh-set (*wꜥbw nyw 3h-st*), referring to the temple of Nebhepetre Montuhotep at Deir el-Bahri.

7.5.4 Temple staff in Middle Kingdom Abydos Appeals

Lichtheim (1992 p. 161) views the Appeal texts as achieving a new direction in Dynasty 11 as “addressed primarily to the priesthood and personnel of a temple” rather than being addressed to visitors. There is certainly a change in the 11th Dynasty Appeals in that the regular temple staff is included in more of the Appeal invocations, whereas this was rare in the preceding periods. The site of Abydos, however, is a special case where the Appeals invoke temple personnel along with secular visitors. At the same time in the Middle Kingdom, at Aswan and at Memphis, the first Appeals appear on statuary set up in temples, expanding the number of contexts in which Appeal texts are found. So whereas there is a distinct shift in Dynasty 11, it is not the same as the trend toward addressing Appeals to temple staff found in the New Kingdom (and Third Intermediate Period) when over half of the Appeals were in a temple, as opposed to a funerary, setting.

The catalyst for change here is the Osiris festival at Abydos and the many stelae erected in the area known as “the terrace of the great god,” which were so placed as to enable the deceased to participate in the procession celebrating the resurrection of Osiris. This procession is referred to in a Sixth Dynasty Appeal from Abydos (Urk. I 112.5-9):

O those who (still) live on earth,
servants like myself
who shall be in the procession of the god!

This text from stela CG 1579 of Pepini, who was a priest of Pepy I and Merenre, suggests that the development of the Osiris procession and the associated cemetery goes back to the end of the Old Kingdom; the Old Kingdom and FIP Appeals from Abydos also call upon a number of different priestly personnel. For example, stela CG 1431 of Djaou (Urk. I 119) from the early part of the reign of Pepy II calls upon “every overseer of god’s servants (*imy-r3 ḥmw-ntr nb*), every god’s servant (*ḥmw-ntr*), and every *d3* priest of the *šsmt* girdle of the temple of the Majesty of my lord, Foremost-of-the-westerners” (*d3 šsmt nb n(y) ḥwt-ntr n(y)t ḥm n(y) nb.(i) ḥnty-imntyw*).

It was not until the changed conditions after the reunification of Egypt in the 11th Dynasty, however, that the offering chapels at Abydos flourished and that it became common to evoke the cult temple staff. For example, from the end of the reign of Nebhepetre Montuhotep of the 11th Dynasty⁴³ comes an Appeal text that directly invokes the Abydos temple staff who would have accompanied the god’s statue in the procession from the Kom es-Sultan temple out to the reputed burial place of Osiris at Umm el-Ga’ab (Klebs 1922 p. 22, Abb. 14 & Rosati 1989 p. 104 fig. 137):

O god’s servants (both) male and female,
singers (both) male and female,
musicians (both) male and female,
(forming) the entire procession of Thinite Abydos!

This text in the lunette at the top of the stela of Meru (Turin 1447) is organized so that the first line just contains the vocative *i*. After this the words for the six groups of people are written in a horizontal line, but their male and female determinatives are written below this line. The last words in this line (*šnwt nb*) are written vertically and seem to run into

⁴³ Stela Turin 1447 is dated to year 46 of Nebhepetre Montuhotep; this is the highest attested date in this reign (Spanel 1985 pp. 67-8).

the caption for the seated figure of Meru on the left. Singers and musicians only appear in Appeal text invocations from the Middle Kingdom at Abydos in the study sample.

It is unusual to so distinctly refer to both male and female members of the temple staff as on the stela of Meru (Turin 1447). It does, however, occur again on the stela of Imyhat (Leiden V2), where the temple staff is placed in a wider context (Boeser 1905 II pl. vi):

O those who (still) live on earth,
 who shall be in the procession of Osiris
 Foremost-of-the-westerners, of Wepwawet
 and of Anubis, lord of the sacred land,
 all (male) god's servants, pure ones,
 female god's servants, singers,
 musicians (both) male and female,
 and all people of Thinite Abydos.

The stela of Imyhat dates to the reign of Sesostri I and thus could have been influenced by the earlier stela of Meru (Turin 1447). It indicates the same three male-female pairs as in the stela of Meru, but inserts the class of priests known as “pure ones” between the male and female “god's servants” or prophets, and ends with an inclusive “all people of Thinite Abydos.”

Another stela from the reign of Sesostri I also calls explicitly upon male and female temple personnel (Sethe p. 87 no. 28d):

O those who (still) live on earth,
 (namely) god's servants (both) male and female,
 and musicians (both) male and female of the
 temple of Osiris Foremost-of-the-westerners and
 who perform (*irrw*) rites therein for their blessed dead.

This passage is from stela CG 20025 of Dedu-Sobek (Lange and Schäfer 1902 v. 55 p. 33). Here the activities of the temple personnel are related to the benefit of the blessed

dead, who were either buried in the Abydos cemetery, or who had had offering chapels constructed there. The present active participle *irrw* gives a sense of the ongoing and continuous nature of these actions.

Several Abydos Appeals are directed to the priesthood of the Osiris temple as a body.⁴⁴ Other Appeals list different classes of temple personnel, not just those associated with the procession in the festival of Osiris. For example, the first Appeal from the stela of Shetepibre (CG 20538, Sethe 1928 p. 70.3-5) from the reign of Ammenemes III calls upon:

Every *h3ty*-^c, every overseer of priests,
every chief god's servant, every lector priest,
every god's seal-bearer, every Anubis embalmer,
every ordinary priest, every phyle controller
and every citizen of this town (=Abydos).

This last phrase recalls the mention of all the people of Thinite Abydos in the Appeal of Imyhat (Leiden V2) from the reign of Sesostri I quoted above.⁴⁵ The wish to “provide for” or “establish” (*grg*) the temple of Osiris Foremost-of-the-westerners also appears several times among the Abydene Appeal texts of the late 12th Dynasty (Sesostri III or Ammenemes III).⁴⁶

Whereas it is true, especially at Abydos, that the staff of the cult temple is prominent along the invocations of the Appeals of the 11th and 12th Dynasties, Lichtheim (1992 p. 161) is overstating the case, I think, in saying that they are **primarily** addressed to the

⁴⁴ Stela CG 20497 of Amenemhat (*wnwt hwt-ntr mi kd.s*), stela CG 20538 of Shetepibre (*hwt-ntr wnw n(yw)t ntr pn*), and stela BM 101 of Nebipusenwosret (*wnwt hwt-ntr 3bdw*).

⁴⁵ Again Breasted (1906 p. 257 note b) observed that Shetepibre appears to have copied from stela CG 20539, also from Abydos from the reign of Sesostri I. See also Doxey 1998 p. 221 and Leprohon in press.

⁴⁶ Stela CG 20748 (Ramenyankh), for which see also Lichtheim 1992 p. 167. Also several stelae from Simpson's ANOC 1 group, i.e. stela CG 20683 (Iykhernofret), stela Basel 5002 (Sa-satet), and stela Geneva D50 (Ameny), for which see the discussion in Leprohon 1978.

priesthood. As for example in the stelae cited above, the clerical offices are intermingled with secular invocations to the *ḥ3ty-ꜥ* (stela CG 20538 of Sehetepibre), and to the people or citizens of Abydos (stela Leiden V2 of Imyhat and stela CG 20538 of Sehetepibre). Abydos stela CG 20539 of the Vizier Montuhotep (Lange and Schäfer 1908 p. 157) from the reign of Sesostri I shows a typical mixture of both clerical and civil offices in the invocation:

O every *ḥ3ty-ꜥ*, every senior god's servant,
 (every) lector priest, (every) god's seal-bearer,
 every Anubis embalmer, every ordinary god's servant,
 every phyle chief, and every town citizen
 who shall happen (to be) in this temple,
 who shall pass by this offering chapel, and
 who shall read this stela!

A similar list appears on stela CG 20538 (Sehetepibre), which was probably copied from this stela (Doxey 1998 p. 221 and Leprohon in press). It does not seem that only temple staff is referred to, given the *sdm.ty.fy* form in the phrase “who shall happen to be in this temple.” These clerical offices could certainly refer both to the local priesthood as well as to visitors. Moreover, for every Middle Kingdom Abydene Appeal that is addressed primarily to temple personnel,⁴⁷ another can be identified as addressing secular visitors.⁴⁸

Other Appeals seem to almost consciously provide a balance between priestly and civil characterizations in their invocations. For example, the Appeal on stela Tübingen 458 of

⁴⁷ Thirteen Appeals in the study sample are addressed primarily to the Abydos temple priesthood: stela Turin 1447 (Meru), stela Leiden V2 (Imyhat), stela CG 20026 (Dedusobek), stela CG 20748 (Ramenyankh), stela CG 20093 (Seneb), stela CG 20497 (Amenemhat), stela CG 20538 (Sehetepibre), stela Basel 5002 (Sa-satet), stela BM 101 (Nebipusenwosret), stela CG 208683 (Iykhernofret), stela Geneva D50 (Ameny), stela BM 829 (Minnefer), and stela Los Angeles A.5141.50-876 (Shen).

⁴⁸ Twelve Appeals in the study sample are addressed primarily to secular visitors: stela CG 20539 (Montuhotep), stela Kestner Museum 2927 (Montuhotep), stela CG 20606 (Horemhat), stela Leiden V6 (Intef), stela BM 584 (Khuenbik), stela MMA 12.184 (Monthweser), stela CG 20515 (Nakht), stela CG 20061 (Ptahwer), stela BM 569 (Sahathor), stela Hermitage 1081 (Nenkhemsan), stela CG 20164 (Wahysobek) and stela BM 579 (Wesirwer).

Sobekhotep (Sethe 1928 p. 88.19-20) pairs each priestly title with a secular one:

O those who (still) live on earth,
every lector priest, every scribe,
every pure one, and (every) official
who shall pass by this tomb chapel!

Here the clerical “lector priest” is paired with the secular “scribe” and the clerical “pure one” is paired with the secular “official.” Likewise, the Chamberlain Amenemhat (stela CG 20497) appeals to “nobles who are in Abydos and the entire priesthood of the temple.” It does not always work out this balanced, but almost as many Middle Kingdom Abydene Appeals may be said to invoke temple personnel equally with secular visitors as those that emphasize one group over another.⁴⁹ Thus, there is an overall balance between temple personnel and secular visitors in the Abydene Appeal invocations of the Middle Kingdom, and it cannot be said that temple personnel “predominate.”

Lichtheim (1992 pp. 163-4) views other changes in the Middle Kingdom Appeal texts in light of the “new” orientation toward the temple priesthood. Specifically she sees an increased use of participles and *sdm.f* forms and a decrease in the use of *sdm.ty.fy* forms, which she links to the concept that the temple personnel would be considered eternally present, as opposed to being short-term visitors. Yet the *sdm.ty.fy* forms appear in about three quarters (33 out of 44) of all the Abydene Middle Kingdom Appeals in the study sample. The percentage of Appeals without *sdm.ty.fy* forms does not change from 24% (6 out of 25) in the early Middle Kingdom up through Sesostri II to 26% (5 out of 19) in the later Middle Kingdom from Sesostri III through Dynasty 13. From the First

⁴⁹ Other Appeals invoking both temple personnel and secular visitors equally include stela Alnwick Castle 1932 (Dedu), stela CG 20683 (Iykhernofret), stela CG 20518 (Khnumnakht), stela CG 20401 (Wenemtykheper-ka-re), stela Oxford 1113 (Ankhren), stela CG 20540 (Burekhef), and stela Florence 1540 (Nefermiy).

Intermediate Period, 27% of the Appeal texts in the study sample do not use *sdm.ty.fy* forms (11 out of 41). From the First Intermediate Period through the end of the Middle Kingdom, therefore, the use of the *sdm.ty.fy* form in the Appeal texts remains constant.

Aside from the number of *sdm.ty.fy* forms, there are other indications in the form of the Appeals that they continued to be targeted largely to generic “visitors.” The *sdm.ty.fy* forms themselves most often refer to passers-by in using the verb *sw3* “to pass by.”

Different terminology is used to refer to what visitors are to pass. Thus, the Appeal texts may shed some light on the vexing question of trying to distinguish stelae from actual tombs from those of the offering or memorial chapels that were meant to commemorate individuals who were buried elsewhere.⁵⁰ Unfortunately, the majority of Abydene stelae were not recovered during controlled excavation.⁵¹ Still Simpson (1974) has had some success in grouping stelae according to the appearance of related individuals and assigning these to offering chapels (or possibly cenotaph groups) and O’Connor (1985 p. 175) reports that his excavations have recovered a number of inscribed pieces *in situ* or almost so, so that when published some light may be shed on the differences between tomb and offering chapel (cenotaph) stelae.

⁵⁰ Kemp 1972 col. 32 indicates that there is no way of determining what proportion of Middle Kingdom stelae from Abydos is derived from tombs vs. offering chapels (cenotaphs).

⁵¹ Middle Kingdom tombs are located in the North Cemetery at Abydos and the offering chapels (cenotaphs) were located in the region of the Osiris enclosure (O’Connor 1985 p. 166). Thus, with an accurate record of find spots, it should have been possible to distinguish between the two types of stelae, although stelae reused in secondary contexts would complicate the picture.

Of the Abydene Middle Kingdom Appeal texts in the study sample invoking “those who pass by” almost half (11 of 25) mention an offering chapel or cenotaph (*mḥꜥt*).⁵² This word literally translates as “what has been erected” (Wb. II 49.7) from ḥꜥ “to stand.” The same word (ḥꜥ) with the appropriate determinative can also indicate a stela (Wb. I 221.11); this word appears on the stela of Amenyanhkhren (CG 20458) after *swꜥ* in an Appeal text. In fact, *mḥꜥt* may more accurately be translated as a “building with a stela” rather than “cenotaph,” which technically means an empty tomb.⁵³ There are no tombs associated with the Abydene shrines. Other words for stela used in the Middle Kingdom Abydene Appeals are ḥꜥ (offering stone) and *wḥbt* (offering slab or “pure place”).⁵⁴ First Intermediate Period stelae often use ḥꜥ.⁵⁵ Actual tombs are referred to in the Middle Kingdom Abydene Appeals by the terms *is* (the typical word for tomb)⁵⁶ and *šps* (literally a noble or costly thing, but also used for “tomb chapel” cf. CDME p. 264 and Wb. IV 451.7 as “Grabstein”).⁵⁷ The Appeals of the Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period stelae typically use *is*,⁵⁸ with tomb Appeals sometimes substituting ḥꜥ “to enter” for *swꜥ*

⁵² Basel no. 5002 (Sa-satet), BM 584 (Khuenbik), CG 20401 (Wenemty-kheper-ka-re), CG 20515 (Nakht), CG 20538 (Sehetepibre) – twice, CG 20539 (Montuhotep), CG 20683 (Iyhernofret), CG 20748 (Ramenyanhkh), Geneva D50 (Ameny), and Hermitage 1081 (Nenkhemsan).

⁵³ Simpson (1978 col. 390) uses the term “memorial chapel,” but the term cenotaph seems established in Egyptological usage (O’Connor 1985 p. 166). On the advice of M.A. Wegner, I have used the term “offering chapel” in the translations.

⁵⁴ The term *wḥbt* appears on stela Kestner Museum 2927 (Amenemhat); it also is used to refer to a “place of embalmment” (Wb. I 284.4) or tomb, as well as a “kitchen” (CDME p. 37).

⁵⁵ See stela CG 1651 (Merri) from Abydos, stela Turin 13114 (Iti) from Gebelein, and stelae Melbourne 39 (Iti), Berkeley LMA 6-2042 (Nefernehesi), LMA 6-1826 (Tjeby), and Leiden F. 1902.7.1 (Sobek-aa) from Naga ed-Deir.

⁵⁶ Used on Alnwick Castle stela 1932 (Dedu), stela M 569 (Sahathor) and stela Cambridge E.9.1922 (Montuhotep).

⁵⁷ Used on stela CG 20093 (Seneb), stela Florence 1540 (Neferniy), stela Tübingen 458 (Sobekhotep) and stela Turin 1628 (Senpu).

⁵⁸ In Old Kingdom: Appeal no. 1 in the tomb of Khentika and the Appeal of Khui, both from Saqqara. In the First Intermediate Period: the Appeal of Iti from Saqqara, the Appeal of Hemire from Busiris (Cambridge E.6.1909 no. 2), the Appeal of Henqu from Deir el-Gebrawi tomb 67, the Appeal of Iy (Dundee 66.2230), the Appeal of Kaka (OI 16955), the Appeal of Neferiwnu (Berkeley LMA 6-1589) and the Appeal of Pai (Berkeley LMA 6-1073) from Naga ed-Deir.

“to pass.”⁵⁹ In several instances on the Abydene Middle Kingdom stelae, “those who pass by” are qualified by the phrase “traveling downstream or upstream” (*m ḥd m ḥnty* or *ḥsf*). This would certainly indicate that the stelae were meant to be viewed by visitors who had traveled up or down the Nile Valley to reach Abydos.

7.5.5 Temple staff in New Kingdom Appeals

In the New Kingdom, as more Appeals are found in temple contexts, it becomes more common for the Appeals to emphasize the priestly and other staff of the temple in the invocations. This trend develops only gradually, however, as the 18th Dynasty Appeals are almost as evenly divided between priestly and secular invocations as those from the Middle Kingdom. Of the 18th Dynasty Appeals in the study sample, 22 of 50 (44%) emphasize priestly offices in the invocations and 18 (36%) emphasize secular offices, while 10 (20%) have a balance of both.⁶⁰ In the Ramesside Period, 20 of 33 Appeals in the study sample emphasize priestly offices in the invocation, 12 emphasize secular

⁵⁹ In Old Kingdom: Appeal no. 1 from the tomb of Ankhmahor at Saqqara, Appeal no. 1 from the tomb of Meryranefter at Edfu (CG 43371). In the First Intermediate Period: Appeals from tombs 5 (Khety) and 3 (It-ibi) at Asyut.

⁶⁰ Appeals emphasizing priestly offices from a tomb context include statue Ashmolean 1913.163 (Amenhotep), statue Louvre E.25550 (Hatre), stela Leiden V14 (Meryptah), statue Florence 1790 (Ptahmose), statue Marseille 208 (Sobekhotep), stela Moscow 4146 (Prince Ameni), stela JE 59636 (Ahmose), stela CG 42118 (Amenuser), statue CG 42123 (Djehuty), London UC 14351 (Djehuty), stela Ashmolean Museum E.3916 (Ithu-Wesir), statue Louvre E.12985 (Menmesu), statue Brussels E.1103 (Nebnefer), stela CG 34018 (Nebwawy), statue BM 1513 (Senenmut), statue CG 579 (Senenmut), statue Louvre E.6248 (Weser), stela MMA 05.4.2 (Userhat), and statue JE 91715 (Userhat). Appeals emphasizing priestly offices from a tomb context include stela OI 64 (Nakht), stela CG 34057 (Neferhotep) and stela Louvre C55 (Nakhtmin). Appeals emphasizing secular offices from a tomb context include Amarna tombs 6 (Panehsy), 8 (Tutu) and 25 (Ay), Theban tombs 39 (Puyemre), 57 (Khaemhat), 71 (Senenmut), 81 (Ineni), 84 (Imau-nedjeh), 87 (Nakhtmin), 100 (Rekhmire), stela Turin 56 (Baki), stela CG 43003 (Kares), stela Leiden V38 (Neferu), and relief Boston 1972.651 (Tjawy). Appeals emphasizing secular offices from a temple context include statues JE 44861 & 44862 (Amenhotep son of Hapu), and statue CG 42042 (Tetiemre). Appeals with invocations balanced between clerical and secular offices include el-Kab tomb 3 (Pahery), the Hierakonpolis tomb of Djehuty, statue CG 583 (Amenhotep son of Hapu), statue JE 44864 (Paramesses), stela Grenoble 1954 (Weser), stela Louvre C26 (Intef), Theban tombs 11 (Djehuty), 24 (Nebamun), 104 (Djehutynefer), and 127 (Senemiah).

offices and one has a balance of both.⁶¹ As might be expected, Appeals set up in temple contexts tend to emphasize priestly offices in their invocations, whereas Appeals in tomb contexts tend to emphasize secular invocations.⁶²

A good example of an 18th Dynasty Appeal invocation emphasizing priestly offices is found on the stela (CG 34018) of Nebwawy from Abydos (Urk. IV 1495.14-16):

O those who (still) live on earth,
pure ones, lector priests, acolytes,
and divine fathers of this temple,
the entire priesthood of the temple,
everyone who shall pass by this stela!

Here all the specific offices listed are priestly ones. Pure ones, lector priests, and divine fathers have been discussed above. Acolytes (*imyw st-ꜥ*) are also found in the invocations of Amenweser on stela CG 42118 and Weser on stela Louvre A127; the record is not very clear, but they seem to be assistants or trainees (Ward 1982 p. 55 no. 433).⁶³ The entire priesthood of the temple (*wnwt hwt-ntr mi kd.s*) is also invoked in the 18th Dynasty Appeals of stela JE 59636 (Ahmose) and statue Ashmolean Museum 1913.163

⁶¹ Appeals from a temple context emphasizing clerical offices include statue Munich G1.WAF 38 (Bakenkhonsu), stela Louvre C50 (Didia), stela BM 706 (Didia), statue CG 42122 (Didia), statue MMA 33.2.1 (Iuny), statue JE 89046 (Pahemnetjer), statue Philadelphia UM E.534 (Paser), statue CG 561 (Paser), statue Mansoura 26 (Pattisy), statue Leiden AST 23 (Ptahmose), statue from Nebesheh of Meryenptah (KRI III pp. 247-8), statue Louvre C108 (Neferrhenpet), statue CG 42186 (Roma-Roy), inscription on Karnak 8th Pylon (Roma-Roy) and statue CG 1105 (Tjunroy). Appeals emphasizing clerical offices from a tomb context include statue Naples 1069 (Amenemone), stela JE 48845 (Rahotep), stela JE 21801 (Panekhuemtawy) and Theban tombs 183 (Nebsumenu) and 184 (Nefermenu). Appeals emphasizing secular offices from a tomb context include statue Leiden D38 (Hormin), Memphite statue of Huy (KRI III p. 169), stela Stockholm 25 (Huyshery), stela Louvre C95 (Khetef), the stela of Kha'emop from Tübingen (Yua), Theban tombs 65 (Imiseba), 106 (Paser) and 360 (Qaha) and the Zawyet Sultan tomb of Nefersekheru. Appeals emphasizing secular offices from a temple context include statue Linköping 189 (Anhurnakhte), statue Cairo temp. 11.4.64.1 (Pashedu) and statue CG 42185 (Roma-Roy). Stela Florence 2532 (Tjia) contains a balanced invocation to both clerical and secular personnel.

⁶² Using the sample given in the preceding two notes, 18 out of 22 (82%) of the 18th Dynasty Appeals emphasizing clerical offices in the invocations are from temples; in the Ramesside Period 15 out of 20 (75%) are. Tomb Appeals that emphasize secular offices in the invocation number 15 out of 18 (83%) in Dynasty 18 and 9 out of 12 (75%) in the Ramesside Period.

⁶³ Quaegebeur 1971 p. 269 suggests *imyw st-ꜥ* as "officiating priest." See also Parker 1962 p. 30 on this title.

(Amenhotep). Variations are found on stela JE 43362 (Yuf) with *mi ꜥd.s* replaced by *r-3w.s*, CG 579 (Senenmut) without *mi ꜥd.s* and Marseille 208 (Sobekhotep) without *hwt-ntr*. Framing the different clerical offices by all-encompassing phrases referring to everyone living or passing by, only underscores the broad nature of the Appeal's invocation.

This broad nature is further developed in a unique Appeal carved over the entrance to the staircase on the 8th Pylon at Karnak temple. Here Roma-Roy, the High Priest of Amun in the 19th Dynasty, makes an Appeal not just to the priestly staff of the temple, but to the non-priestly temple staff as well (KRI IV p. 288.10-13):

O pure ones, scribes of the Amun temple,
perfect servants of the god's offerings,
bakers, brewers, confectioners,
makers of different types of bread loaves,
those who perform all their tasks for their lord,
those who will enter this workshop which is in
[the Amun temple] ...

Roma-Roy asks all of his temple's staff to remember him, to pronounce his name, and to recall his benefactions. Though bakers, brewers, confectioners etc. would not have been able to read the text, they could certainly be told what it said by temple clergy. The placement on the east end of the pylon suggests that these workers may have had to pass by this spot on their way to and from work. Roma-Roy was hoping or expecting that as they passed they would remember him and perhaps say his name in a pious remembrance of a former leader of the temple. It is impossible to say how successful this endeavour was, but it does emphasize the point that it was not only the well educated who could read to whom the Appeals were addressed.

In Memphis, a number of Appeals call upon anyone who shall create in the temple. The high priest of the temple of Ptah at Memphis was called the “great one who controls all craftsmen” (*wr hrp ḥmww nb*). He is invoked in the Appeals of statue Florence 1790 (Ptahmose) of the 18th Dynasty and in the 19th Dynasty Appeals of statue Leiden AST 23 (Ptahmose) and statue JE 89046 (Pahemnetjer). The god Ptah was revered as the creator of both human life and of craftsmanship and art; the clergy of Ptah continue this connection. When Ptahmose (Urk. IV 1917) calls upon “those who shall create in the temple of Ptah (*hpr.t(y).sn m ḥwt Pth-Skr*) or Amenhotep (Urk. IV 1799-1800) invokes “anyone who shall create in this temple” (*hpr.t(y).f(y) nb m ḥwt tn*), they refer to the entire priestly staff of the Ptah temple, who were all considered to be involved in this creative process.⁶⁴ The Appeal of Hatre (Louvre E 25550) comes from a Ptah temple staff member who literally functioned as a craftsman. His statement “I am a craftsman who had the entrée to the two eyes of Upper and Lower Egypt” (Helck 1975 p. 136) suggests that he had a high sacerdotal status as well as being overseer of gold workers.

7.6 Civil titles

The appearance of civil offices is more common in Middle and New Kingdom Appeals than earlier ones from the Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period; this no doubt reflects the increasing size and importance of the civil as well as the clerical bureaucracy in the Middle and New Kingdoms. By far the most common civil title invoked in the Appeal texts is that of scribe (*sš*), literally “one who writes.” Thus, the designation

⁶⁴ It is certainly possible to read *hpr.t(y).sn m ḥwt* as “those who shall be/are in the temple” as Katja Goebis has suggested (personal communication).

“scribe” signified the ability to read and write, a certain social standing, and either a position or the potential for a position in the civil or religious bureaucracies of the Egyptian state. Other generic terms for officials, such as *sr* and *ỉḫt*, also appear in the Appeal invocations with similar connotations. Royal, local, and judicial officials are sometimes called upon in the Appeal invocations from the Middle and New Kingdoms. The First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom Appeals from Hatnub have their own distinctive invocations, different not only from those found in temples and tombs, but from other expedition Appeals, such as the Middle Kingdom Appeals from the Sinai.

7.6.1 Generic civil titles

The Sixth Dynasty Appeal of Nenki (Urk. I 260.12) calls upon “any noble, any official or anybody ...” The word for official (*sr*) may also be translated as nobleman or magistrate (CDME p. 235); here it is used in addition to the word *sḥ*, which essentially deals with the idea of rank, meaning dignitary or noble, though it may be used of the blessed dead (CDME pp. 214-5). Since *sḥ* and *sr* are used together here, I would suggest that *sr* is essentially a generic word for an official, with the noble status that that implies being a secondary consideration. General words of “official” – namely *sr* and *ỉḫt* – appear in Middle Kingdom Appeals,⁶⁵ but relatively rarely. General words for officials are also uncommon in New Kingdom Appeals, but the Appeal of Tutu from Amarna tomb 8 (Sandman 1938 text cviii) contains the terms “officials” (*srw*) and “leaders” (*sḥmw*) in a fragmentary invocation.

⁶⁵ For *sr*: stelae CG 20497 (Amenemhat), Florence 1540 (Neferniy), Tübingen 458 (Sobekhotep) from Abydos, and from the Elephantine sanctuary of Heqaib, an anonymous stela (no. 88) and the statue of Demi (no. 52). For *ỉḫt*: stelae CG 20540 (Burkehef) and Stuttgart 10 (Samenkh) from Abydos.

Although I would not consider scribes and officials as clerics, it is important to note that they may have worked on the staff of temples, as well as for the government bureaucracy. Generally only generic terms are found that do not specify the place of employment, but there are some exceptions to this situation. For example, the Appeal of Sepi from Haraga (Koefoed-Petersen 1948 pl. 11b) calls upon:

O those who (still) live on earth,
every pure one, every *k3*-priest, every scribe,
every official of a temple, every official of the palace,
you who shall read out this writing
that is on this stela of eternity!

Here officials (*i3wt*) are explicitly divided between the temple administration and that of the palace of the king. In a similar fashion, the Sehel graffito of Antef (Habachi 1953 p. 51) calls upon the “pure ones and scribes of this temple.” It is noteworthy that the Appeal of Sepi envisages that the priests, scribes and officials will “read aloud” or “recite” the Appeal on the stela. This same declaration is made on the stela of Montuweser (MMA 12.184), which underlines the fact that an essential qualification for all these offices is that their occupants be literate.

7.6.2 Royal and local officials

Specific types of civil officials are rarely invoked in the Appeals, but there are a number of specific instances where individual offices in the royal and local bureaucracies are addressed. The most impressive example of the invocation of specific civil offices is found on the 12th Dynasty stela (CG 20539) of the Vizier Montuhotep (Lange and Schäfer 1908 p. 153); this Appeal begins with the following invocation:

O every *ḥ3ty-ꜥ*, every royal messenger,
every potentate and every companion of the palace,
whom the king has sent!

The offices of royal messenger (*wpwty-nsw*), and potentate (*šm-ir.f*) do not appear in other Appeals; their inclusion on stela CG 20539 is no doubt connected to Montuhotep's position as vizier at the top of Egypt's civil administration. The companion of the palace (*smr nb n(y) pr-nsw*) on Montuhotep's stela is presumably the same office as found in some of the Appeals from the Sinai,⁶⁶ where a different word for palace (*ꜥh*) is used. Similar titles, formed both with *pr-nsw* and with *ꜥh*, are also found in isolated cases in New Kingdom Appeals.⁶⁷

The *ḥ3ty-ꜥ* (sometimes translated as “count” or nome-ruler) is an important function in the Egyptian political structure at the end of the old Kingdom until late in the 12th Dynasty, after which this precise office no longer exists (Fischer 1976a col. 408). In Appeal texts, the great rulers of other nomes (*ḥrw[-tp ꜥ3] nyw kywt sp3wt*) are invoked in the First Intermediate Period Deir el-Gebrawi tomb of Henqu (Urk. I 76.6); though the terminology is not exactly the same, the office probably is. As well as on the stela of Montuhotep (CG 20539) quoted above, *ḥ3ty-ꜥ* are also invoked on the 12th Dynasty Abydene stela of Sehetepibre (CG 20538) and Wepwawet (Munich WAG 35). In the 18th Dynasty the term *ḥ3ty-ꜥ* appears in the invocation on the stela of Kares (CG 43003), but here the term refers to a city ruler or mayor, rather than a nome-ruler.

⁶⁶ Sinai inscription 53 (Sobekhorhab) with *smrw nsw ꜥh* and Sinai inscription 114 (Ankhreni) with *smrw ꜥh*.

⁶⁷ For example, from Theban tomb 106 (Paser) “companions of the great ones of the palace” (*smrw wrw ꜥh*) and “courtiers who are in the king's house” (*šnywt tmywt pr-nsw*).

Magistrates from Karnak (*d3d3t n(y) Ipt-swt*) are appealed to in two 18th Dynasty Theban tombs (no. 24 of Nebamun and no. 127 of Senemiah). It is not certain whether the *d3d3t* refers to an established body of magistrates, or whether it was a group of functionaries established by a special commission (Quirke 1990 p. 54). Magistrates from the temple of Osiris at Abydos (*d3d3t pr Wsir*) are appealed to on the 13th Dynasty stela CG 20093 (Seneb).⁶⁸ These examples demonstrate that local officials may be included in the Appeal invocations, but such invocations are not common. Invocations to royal officials also appear, but again are not common.⁶⁹

7.6.3 Scribes

The only civil title that appears with frequency in the Appeal invocations is that of scribe. Though rare in the Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Periods, the title of scribe does appear in Appeals of these periods. The situation then changes and scribes are one of the most popular offices invoked in the Appeal texts from the Middle Kingdom, Second Intermediate Period, and New Kingdom. Scribes are invoked in about a third (27 of 82) of the Middle Kingdom Appeals in the study sample, appearing slightly more frequently at Abydos (17 of 45 = 38%) than elsewhere (10 of 37 = 27%). Scribes are invoked in 3 of 8 (38%) Second Intermediate Period Appeals in the study sample. Scribes are invoked in half (25 of 50) of the 18th Dynasty Appeals and in 47% (18 of 38) of the Ramesside Appeals in the study sample. Scribes appear in the Middle and New Kingdom

⁶⁸ Ward 1982 p. 186 (no. 1608) gives *d3d3t* as a collective noun meaning “magistrates” and notes the existence of a number of titles (nos. 1453-1455) of “scribes of the *d3d3t*.” The examples from Appeals confirm Quirke’s characterization (1990 p. 54 and 2004 pp. 24 & 80) that the *d3d3t* tends to be for a specific organization defined either by context or qualifying phrase.

⁶⁹ Aside for the royal officials connected to the palace mentioned above, one may note a royal steward invoked in the 18th Dynasty Appeal of statue Ashmolean Museum 1913.163 (Amenhotep).

invocations only slightly fewer times than pure ones and lector priests, together with which clerical offices they are frequently invoked. The increased mention of scribes in the Appeal invocations is undoubtedly related to the fact that the Middle and New Kingdom Appeals tend to have longer invocations than their predecessors. But it also reflects a greater distinction between the different classes of the educated elite as the bureaucratic society expanded in ancient Egypt.⁷⁰

The phrase “I am an excellent scribe” appears several times in Old Kingdom Appeals,⁷¹ but not in later Appeals. The authors of the Old Kingdom Appeals acknowledged their literate abilities, but generally held offices higher than just that of scribe. The First Intermediate Period Appeals, however, were sometimes by men who held the title scribe, at least in expedition Appeals.⁷² The scribe who went out on quarrying expeditions to keep records was the ideal person to write an expedition Appeal. Nevertheless, it is only infrequently that other scribes were invoked in the Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period Appeals.⁷³

In the New Kingdom Appeals the role of the scribe is often alluded to by various epithets, at the core of which is “skilled in the hieroglyphic script” (*šs3 m mdw-nṯr*). The word for “hieroglyphic script” (*mdw-nṯr*) is literally “the divine words” and refers to the hieroglyphic texts as preserved on the walls of temples and tombs and on the statues and

⁷⁰ See Roccati 1997 for a good recent survey on scribes in ancient Egypt, and Kemp 1989 chapter 3 on “The bureaucratic mind.”

⁷¹ See the Appeals of Isi (Helck 1977 p. 107), Kaiherptah (*Urk.* I 186.16), and Metjetjy (Kaplony 1981 pl. III).

⁷² See Ahanakhte of Hatnub graffito 25 (Anthes 1928 p. 57), Djehuty-anhkw of Hatnub graffito no. 12 (Anthes 1928 p. 28), Shemai of Wadi Hammamat M150 (*Urk.* I 150.2).

⁷³ See Appeals of Bia/Irery (Saqqara), Hemitre (Busiris) and It-ibi (Asyut).

stelae therein. This knowledge was an extra acquired skill, since at during all periods of Egyptian history the basic method of writing was in the hieratic script with ink on papyrus.⁷⁴ In the New Kingdom the vernacular Late Egyptian language diverged from the Classical Middle Egyptian, so in addition to being written in a different medium, religious texts, such as Appeals, were in a different more archaic form of the language than that used for everyday life.

In the 18th Dynasty *šs3 nb m mdw-nṯr* appears as its own epithet “any who are skilled in the hieroglyphic script.”⁷⁵ In several of the 18th Dynasty tomb Appeals, scribes are invoked in the following manner (*Urk.* IV 121.1-4):⁷⁶

every scribe who carries a palette,
who is skilled in the hieroglyphic script,
anyone excellent of his subjects,
distinguished of speech in boasting of his service.

This quatrain is not found frequently enough in the Appeals to be considered a formula, but it very well may be a quote from some literary or school text of the period. It indicates that scribal competency was not limited to reading and writing, but extended to subject knowledge and rhetoric or speaking ability as well. Here the phrase *šs3-ḥr m mdw-nṯr* indicates competence in the hieroglyphic script.⁷⁷ Similar phrases from other 18th Dynasty Appeals include *ʿrky m mdw-nṯr* (relief Boston MFA 1972.651 of Tjawy) and *spdw-ḥr m mdw-nṯr* (Theban tomb no. 57 of Khaemhat); both variants indicate skill with or knowledge of the hieroglyphic writing system.

⁷⁴ Writing would have been taught using the hieratic script and administrative record-keeping must surely have predominated among written texts, though it is not so well preserved as such texts would not be placed in tombs (Baines 1983, esp. p. 583 and Eyre and Baines 1989 p. 93).

⁷⁵ Stela Louvre C55 (Nakhtmin) from Akhmim and Theban tomb 79 (Menkheperresoneb).

⁷⁶ Quote from el-Kab tomb no. 3 of Pahery, but the same phrase is found in Theban tombs 24 (Nakhtmin) and 127 (Senemiah).

⁷⁷ The phrase also appears on the 19th Dynasty stela BM 156 (Pay).

In the 19th Dynasty *šs3 nb m mdw-ntr* appears as an epithet in the phrase “all scribes who are skilled in the hieroglyphic script.”⁷⁸ A similar phrase is found where *sšw* “writings” is substituted for *mdw-ntr*.⁷⁹ An elaborate invocation to scribes is found in the Zawyet Sultan Appeal of Nefersekeru (Osing 1992 pl. 44):

O all scribes, who [live] on earth,
 who understand the hieroglyphic script,
 craftsmen in the work of Mehy (=Thoth),
 who put writing in its (correct) place,
 who enter into the writings of Thoth
 and the phrases of speech,
 who are expert in the fashioning of images,
 who take thought for texts,
 who mourn for those gone in peace, and
 who cry for the blessed one!

Although the concepts are the same, the vocabulary is changing. Instead of *šs3*, *wh̄* is used for understanding or being skilled in the hieroglyphic script.⁸⁰ The hieroglyphic script is referred to as the “writings of Thoth” (*sšw Dhwtj*). Thoth is the ancient Egyptian god of wisdom and the patron deity of scribes. The 19th Dynasty statue of Iuny from Deir Durunka (MMA 33.2.1) also invokes scribes “who know the script of Thoth” (*rhw drf Dhwtj*). Nefersekeru uses *drf*, meaning writing or script, in the phrase “who put writing in its place.” Both *drf* and *rh* appear again in the invocation to scribes in the Dynasty 20 Theban tomb of Imiseba (KRI VI p. 546.11): “all scribes who know the hieroglyphic script and who are skilled in writing” (*sšw nb rh mdw-ntr šs3 m dr[f]*).

⁷⁸ Stela Florence 2532 of Tjia and statue CG 1105 of Tjunroy. Statue Cairo 11.4.64.1 of Pashedu from Deir el-Medina may contain a corrupt form of this phrase, but *sš nb n(y) mdw-ntr* can just as easily be translated as “scribe, master of divine words.”

⁷⁹ Statue UM E.534 of Paser from Deir el-Bahri and stela BM 156 of Didia, also from Deir el-Bahri. The phrase *šs3 m sšw* is also found in the 18th Dynasty Appeal of Rekhmire in Theban tomb 100.

⁸⁰ *wh̄* is also used in Theban tomb 360 of Qaha at Deir el-Medina, with the *mdw-ntr* needing to be restored. The more common phrase is *wh̄-ib* for skilled of capable (*Wb*. I 348.15 and Lesko DLE I p. 124) and it may be that *ib* should be supplied here as well.

7.6.4 Expedition members

The First Intermediate Period Appeals found in the Hatnub quarry are formulaic and all addressed to “any traveller who shall lift up his arm to this image.” The word for traveller (*sḳd*) is the same as the word for “sailor” (Wb. IV 309.17); clearly this is some indication of the major means of long distance travel in ancient Egypt. Only those who were on a journey or trek would even bypass the Hatnub quarries, since they were not in an inhabited area. In the early 12th Dynasty a number of other terms are found in the invocations of the Hatnub Appeals. These include craftsman (*hmty*), foreman (*hrp*), and quarryman (*iky*), referring to important members of the quarry expeditions to the site.

Whereas the Hatnub quarry expeditions were usually sent out by the local nome ruler, the Sinai mining expeditions in the later 12th Dynasty were sent out under royal command; this is reflected in the invocations. For example, the invocation of Sinai inscription 114 (Ankhreni) from Serabit el-Khadim (Gardiner 1952 pl. 38) reads as follows:

O those who (still) live on earth,
royal officials, courtiers of the palace,
who shall come to this desert hill country!

Here the royal officials (*srw nysw*) and courtiers of the palace (*smrw ḥ*) are shown to be among those expected to visit the Sinai; expeditions to the Sinai were usually sent out under the auspices of the royal treasury (Leprohon 1980 p. 217 & Černý 1955 pp. 15-16). The invocation to “those who (still) live on earth” appears in the majority of the Sinai Appeals.⁸¹

⁸¹ Namely on Sinai inscriptions no. 35 (Menkhib), 36 no. 2 (Hori) & no. 3 (Ptahwer), no. 53 (Sobekhorab), no. 114 (Ankhreni) no. 118 (Kemai) and no. 409 (Seninen).

7.7 Conclusion

In general the Appeals are addressed to a wide audience and aim to be as inclusive as possible. This is particularly the case in terms of the standard formulae, such as “those who (still) live on earth,” “anyone who shall enter this tomb,” or “those who love life and who hate death.” These formulae are developed in the late Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period and continue in use through the Middle Kingdom and into the 18th Dynasty. Variants become common by the Middle Kingdom, are frequent by the 18th Dynasty, and become the rule during the Ramesside Period. The situation is one of the establishment of a tradition to fit a specific role and then adaptation as society evolves and becomes more complex and diverse.

The Old Kingdom developed specific types of Appeals for specific types of people, such as embalmers and lector priests. In the First Intermediate Period the Appeal invocations are mostly generalizing. In the Middle Kingdom invocations that list a number of different priestly and civil offices become standard; these invocations listing a series of different offices continue through the New Kingdom. The most popular offices in the Appeal invocations are those of lector priest (*hry-hb*), pure one (*w^cb*), and scribe (*sš*). There is some evidence that Appeal invocations were suited to particular contexts. For example, the Hatnub quarry appeals are the only ones addressed to travellers, and priestly offices appear more frequently in temple contexts than in tomb contexts.

8.0 APPEAL REQUESTS

By definition, the Appeal texts are a dialogue between a private individual and those who read the inscription. What is requested in the Appeals indicates that the major function of these texts is to ask that an offertory prayer be said on behalf of the deceased. Although they are found in a variety of contexts and invoke a wide variety of different people, the requests found in the Appeal texts fall into a relatively small number of well defined categories. Appeals to specialized personnel, such as lector priests and embalmers, request the specific skills of these practitioners. The earliest Old Kingdom Appeals especially are concerned with the ritual purity of visitors to the tomb and the fact that the visitors may do something harmful (*ir ht ḏw*) to the tomb. In the Middle and New Kingdoms there is a concern that the name of the deceased be remembered. Otherwise, there are some minor variations in the way offerings are requested, but essentially the Appeal texts from the Old through New Kingdoms ask for offerings and that visitors recite the offering formula that 1000 bread, beer, beef, fowl, alabaster, clothing, etc. be provided for the deceased.

8.1 Appeals to lector priests

The Appeals to specialized personnel, such as lector priests and embalmers, request specialized services that were beyond the capacity of the average visitor to satisfy. As indicated above, lector priests had specialized knowledge and skill sets that enabled them to perform efficacious rituals and recitations for the deceased. For example, the Appeal to lector priests in the tomb of Ankhmahor at Saqqara (Urk. I 202.15-203.1) reads:

O (any) lector priest who shall come to this tomb (of mine)
in order to perform efficacious rites for me

according to that secret writing of the craft of lector priest ...
 Recite for me the ritual recitations and ...
 Recite for me the texts of spiritualization ...,
 as expertly as you know how.

The secret writings of the craft of the lector priest (*šs pf št3 n(y) hmt hry-hbt*) are also mentioned in the Appeals of Kaiherptah (Urk. I 186.15) and Khui (Drioton 1943 p. 503). Though written down, these spells would only be effective once pronounced or read out loud. The word translated as “recite” here (*šd*) is the word for “to read” (Wb. IV 563-4). The act of reading in ancient Egypt meant reading aloud and the same word was used for reciting from memory. As noted above, these texts led to the transformation of the deceased into an *3h*-spirit and were the same spells as those recited for the king. The specialized Appeals to the embalmers asked that the stone sarcophagi lids be securely closed; that of Ankhmahor (Urk. I 205. 3) also requests an invocation offering.

From the early Sixth Dynasty Appeals of Kaiherasetef and Inti, comes the request of the visitor to “praise god” (*dw3 ntr*) for the deceased. The *dw3 ntr* idiom is usually taken in the sense of “give thanks for” (Wb. V 28.1), but here something like “put in a good word for me with the deity” seems more fitting.¹

8.2 Requests for purity

In the Old Kingdom Address to visitors the major request is often that the visitors not defile the tomb by any ritual impurity. The concern with impurity indicates that special preparations were expected to be made before one visited a tomb in the same way that those who entered Egyptian temples were expected to be ritually pure. That ritual purity

¹ Garnot (1938 p. 16) suggests that the injunction to “praise god” (*dw3 ntr*) is characteristic of early Appeal texts, dating to Dynasty 5.

for tomb access was the same as that for temple access is suggested by the phrase in the Appeal of Mereruka (Urk. I 87.14) “in the way in which they (should) be pure for the temple of the god” (*mi w^cb.sn r hwt-ntr n(y)t ntr*). The Appeal of Ankhmahor (Urk. I 202.4) mentions “having eaten things detestable to an excellent *3h* spirit” as an example of impure behaviour. The pure state that should be obtained before visiting a tomb would have encompassed abstaining from certain foods, abstaining from sexual intercourse, and physical cleanliness.² This type of ritual purity is also seen in the Piankhy stela³ and in Herodotus II.37 where such foods as fish and beans are deemed to be impure.

Circumcision is also mentioned by both Piankhy and Herodotus as a necessity for ritual purity. Abstinence from sexual activity may also have been required for ritual purity; according to Herodotus II.64 the Egyptian priests were careful to wash after sexual intercourse before they entered the temple. Herodotus II.37 states that Egyptian priests kept themselves extraordinarily clean in general, shaving the hair off their bodies and washing themselves twice a day and twice a night.⁴

The tomb inscription of Isi from the vicinity of the pyramid of Unas (Edel 1979 p. 107) specifically calls upon the staff of the Unas pyramid cult, referring to the pure ones (*w^cbw*) and the servants of my lord’s estate (*b3kw nyw pr nb.i*). Isi states that he is one of them (*w^c lm.tn*), meaning that he too had served on the staff of the funerary temple of Unas. Just as it was necessary to be pure in the service of the dead king, so was it important to be pure in the context of the tombs of the officials. Isi states:

² Recent overviews of ritual purity in ancient Egypt include Gee 1998 and Frandsen 1986.

³ Urk III 54.9-11, line 151; Grimal 1981 pp. 176-178; Lichtheim 1980 p. 80.

⁴ On ritual purity see also Edel 1944 pp. 4-8, Meeks 1976, Sauneron 1980 pp. 36-40, the article on “Taboo” in Shaw and Nicholson 1995 p. 281, and Sottas 1913 pp. 11-16.

As you are pure for Unas, so Unas (will) favour (you).
 As you are pure for him, so you are buried in the necropolis
 after you have spent the years of blessedness.

So the same ritual restrictions that existed for the temples were carried over to the tombs of the nobles. Ti (Urk. I 173.10-12) warns that entering his tomb with impurities (*bw*) or after having eaten that which is impure (*bwwt*) is an “abomination of the *3h*-spirit that has traveled to the necropolis.” Just as the temple was considered to be the dwelling place of the deity, so too the tomb was considered to be the dwelling place of the *3h*, the “glorified” spirit of the deceased person.⁵ So Kagemni (Urk. I 195.16) threatens anybody who should enter his tomb “not being purified in the manner that he should for an excellent *3h*-spirit.”

The concern for purity among Old Kingdom Appeals indicates that the tomb itself was considered to be a pure and sacred place. Hetepherakhet (Urk. I 50.13-14) actually specifies that he built his tomb in a pure place (*m st wbt*) on the west side of Djoser’s Step Pyramid at Saqqara; he elaborates that “nobody had a tomb there previously” (*n wnt is im n(y) rmt nb*). There was a danger that later generations would reuse tombs, vandalize or deface tombs, or even dismantle and reuse the stone and other materials of the tomb. This “recycling” of material was obviously discouraged by the original owners, as Remenuka (Hassan 1933-34 v. 2 p. 173) states:

Never was a stone belonging to anyone (else)
 brought to me for this (my) tomb,
 because the judgment in the West was remembered.

⁵ The recitations of the appropriate spells at the funeral is called *s3h* or “glorification” which indicates a process (sometimes considered to be the unification of the *b3*-soul with the *k3*-soul) through which the deceased attained status in the Afterlife (Zandee 1960 p. 174).

To prove that they acted according to *maʿat*, some tomb owners actually state that they paid for their tombs (e.g. Mery-khufu); Remenuka (Hassan 1933-34 v. 2 p. 173) not only states that he paid in bread and beer the craftsmen who built his tomb, but states that he gave them “exceedingly large compensation” for which they were very grateful. The workman and artisans who built and decorated the tombs at Giza and Saqqara would be presumed to be visitors to previous tombs in the area and would no doubt be favourably inclined towards tomb owners who had paid their craftsmen well.

After the Old Kingdom, Appeal texts do not explicitly mention ritual purity. There is a frequent invocation to “pure ones” (*wʿb*-priests) and indeed other types of priests for whom we may assume a concern with ritual purity. Appeals placed in temples may assume a ritual purity in those who have access. Still in other contexts, such as for the expedition appeals, one would not expect ritual purity in those responding to the Appeal. The Appeal texts concerned with purity basically come from Saqqara at the end of the 5th (Hetepherakhet, Pehenwikai, and Ti) and beginning of the 6th Dynasty (Ankhmahor, Isi, Kagemni, Mereruka, and Sefegat). Other examples are known from Giza (Nekhebu) and Deshasha (Iteti) from the 6th Dynasty. The concern with purity, therefore, was likely a powerful motive in the establishment of the Appeal text genre, but one that did not persist in the development and spread of the genre. Though different contexts and social conditions help explain this change, it is also possible that it reflects a change in religious attitudes towards the sanctity of the tomb.

8.3 Requests not to harm monuments

A second request frequently found amongst the Old Kingdom Address to visitors is an injunction against those who shall harm or do something harmful to the tomb (*ir.ty.fy ht dwt ir.s*).⁶ An example from the tomb of Nekhebu (Urk. I 219.2-5) reads:

Do not destroy anything in this tomb of mine,
for I am an excellent and equipped *3h*-spirit.
As for any man who shall destroy anything in this tomb of mine,
he will be held liable by the great god...

The concern here is that the tomb continues its function of protecting the corpse of the deceased, who is defined as an effective *3h*-spirit. If any such desecration or destruction takes place, the perpetrator is threatened with retribution. In some cases, such as in the Appeal of Pehenwikai (Urk. I 49.4), the tomb owner assures readers that they had not harmed the funerary preparations of others.

Just what doing something harmful (*ht dw*) to a tomb might entail is explained in more detail in several of the Appeals. The Appeal of Inti (Urk. I 70.15-17) addresses:

Any persons who shall do anything harmful (*ht dw*) to this (tomb),
(or) who shall do anything destructive (*nbdw*) to this (tomb)
(or) who shall deface the writing therein ...

Clearly defacing or erasing the inscriptions in the tomb was cause for concern. The Appeal of Nenki (Urk. I 260.12) addresses “any noble, any official or anybody who shall rip out any stone or any brick from this tomb.” Not only were the Egyptians concerned that someone might reuse their tomb, but that someone might actually tear it apart for building materials. Of particular importance was that the corpse of the deceased should

⁶ The phrase *ir.ty.fy/sn ht dw* is found in the Old Kingdom Appeals of Hetepherakhet (Saqqara), Inti (Deshasha), Merykhufu (Giza), Nekhebu (Giza), Nyankhpepy (Saqqara) and Pehenwikai (Saqqara). The Appeal of Denwen refers to those who would damage his stela (*ir.ty.fy ht ir nw*). See also Routledge 2001 p. 58 where *ht* as “property” is discussed in her study of *ir ht* as ritual.

lie peacefully in the burial chamber. Nyankhpepy (Hassan 1975 v.3 p. 77) speaks to this concern when he addresses:

any person who shall do anything injurious (*ht nbt ḏw(t)*)
 against this tomb (of mine) of the necropolis (or)
 who shall seize a stone from it upon its mother

The “mother” refers to the base of the stone sarcophagus; the stone of the sarcophagus lid would have to be removed if thieves were to gain access to the body of the deceased.

These Appeals therefore indicate the worst sort of destructive acts the Egyptians felt could happen to their tombs: 1) defacing of the inscriptions, 2) physical destruction of the tomb and 3) injury to the mummy of the deceased in the sarcophagus.

After the Old Kingdom, Appeals are only rarely found in tombs from the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom, but usually appear on stelae. The exception is at Asyut where both in the First Intermediate Period tomb of It-ibi and the 12th Dynasty tomb of Djefa-hapi there is a reference to “one who shall destroy the inscriptions and who shall damage the statues” (*ḥḏ.ty.fy/sn sšw nss.ty.fy n ḥntyw*). The full passage in the Appeal of Iti-ibi (Siut III lines 66-67, Edel 1984 fig. 7) indicates a concern for the destruction of inscriptions and statues in both tombs and temple in the necropolis of Asyut (*R3-ḫrrt*):

As for any rebel who shall rebel, ...
 who shall destroy the inscriptions (and)
 who shall damage the statues in the tombs
 of the ancestors in the necropolis of Asyut (and)
 in the temple (of the Lord of) *Ra-qert* without
 being afraid of the tribunal which is therein,
 he shall not be glorified in the necropolis ...

Although expressed as a threat rather than as a request, the concern about possible damage to the inscriptions and statues which insured the success of the deceased in the Afterlife is clear. The implication is that the dead in the necropolis who have successfully been transformed into *3h*-spirits will be able to block the successful transformation of anyone who had harmed their monuments, presumably by testifying or exerting influence at the tribunal when the deceased is judged worthy or not for the Afterlife. The Appeal of Djefa-hapy (Urk. VII 53.11-13) threatens the perpetrator with the wrath of the god Thoth and demonstrates the continuation of this concern about damage to tomb inscriptions into the Middle Kingdom.

Appeals reappear with frequency in the Theban tombs of the New Kingdom; although requests not to harm the tomb are not made in the same way as in the Old Kingdom, there is evidence that the sentiments of the Egyptians had not changed. For example, on the stela of Nakhtmin from Akhmim (Louvre C55) comes a request following “those who (still) live on earth” that “when they enter my tomb, may they pay honour to it” (*‘k.sn r is.i sw3š.sn hr.f*). Even more to the point is the Appeal on a Ramesside ostrakon (Edinburgh 1956-316) from an unidentified Theban tomb (Černý 1967 pl. XVI lines 1-2 and pl. XVIII lines 13-15):

All people who shall discover this tomb passage!
Beware lest you shall bring outside a stone from it.
If you find this stone, you are trespassing against it ...

As for the one who would be successful,
you should beware of removing this stone from its place.
As for the one who will drive it from its place,
the great lords of the West will reproach him exceedingly.

This is reminiscent of the injunctions not to remove any stone found in the Old Kingdom tombs of Nyankhpepy (Saqqara), Tjetu (Giza mastaba 2100), or Nenki (Saqqara tomb O.1). As Černý (1967 p. 50) notes, while the sentiments of the text echo those of the Old Kingdom Appeals, the wording is different, offering “new and refreshing reasoning.” Finally, from the ceiling of Theban tomb 71 of Senenmut (Urk. IV 401.16-402.2) comes an injunction against “any man who shall do harm to my mummy” (*ir si nb wd.ty.fy nkn r s^ch.i*). The perpetrator is threatened with an end to his life on earth without a (proper) burial in the necropolis. So concern with the physical destruction of the tomb and possible harm to the mummy inside continued through the New Kingdom, even though the Old Kingdom expressions are not perpetuated in the New Kingdom Appeals.

As the Appeals from Asyut demonstrate, there are also requests in the Appeals that statues not be harmed. After the Old Kingdom, Appeals were found less frequently in tombs and more frequently on stelae and statues; as their context changed the concern for the possible destruction of the monument continued, but the type of monument differs. For example, the ink graffiti at the travertine (Egyptian alabaster) quarry at Hatnub from the First Intermediate Period (Anthes 1928 pp. 35-70 nos. 16, 19 & 35) offer punishment by the local deities for anyone “who shall harm these figures” (*ir ḥd.ty.fy nn ḥntyw*). The Appeals here are not in a tomb context, but there is the same concern that the writings and figures on the walls of the quarry could be damaged by future generations. From the 12th Dynasty, the Appeal of Senwosret (Sethe 1928 p. 87 no. 28a) threatens punishment by the god “Horus who is in strife” to “those who shall do damage against this (my) offering table” (*ir.ty.sn d3yt r ḥtp.(i) pn*). Likewise, from the Ramesside Period, the

Appeal of Neferrenpet (Louvre C108) calls for “anyone who shall disturb this stela together with the tomb that I have made” (*rmṯ nb nty lw r mnmn m wḏ pn ḥnꜥ is irw.n.i*) to fail in the Afterlife judgement before Thoth.⁷

The Appeal in the cult chamber of the Zawyet Sultan tomb of Nefersekheru preserves a good indication of the importance of the cult statue in private tombs of the New Kingdom (Osing 1992 pl. 43):

May you concern yourself with my statue in my noble tomb,
my likeness according to life that belongs to me,
its shape being (that of) my family.
When you see it, may you say to it (the statue)
while passing by my funerary chapel:
“breath to your nose, Nefersekheru justified and
a libation for your *k3*.”

Therefore the statue was a focal point of the funerary cult for the deceased, to which prayers were spoken and offerings made, just as to the false door of the tomb. As with the tomb inscriptions, the physical structure of the tomb, and the mummy itself, the tomb statue was important for the continued existence of the deceased in the Afterlife. On the statue of Djehuty from Karnak (CG 42123) the Appeal thus includes the request “may you cause that my statue endure” (*di.tn mn twt.i*). Without the name of the deceased inscribed on the statue, its owner would not be recognized by future generations. Hence the request on the block statue of Roma-Roy (CG 42185) that his name should remain on his statue (*di.f mn rn.i ḥr ḥnty.i*).

⁷ The Ramesside graffito at Deir el-Bahri of Nebwau also threatens “anyone who shall damage this stela” (*ir rmṯw nb nty lw.fr thī wḏ pn*). The Ramesside injunctions against harming the tomb or stela thus take the same form (*ir rmṯ nb ...*) as the Old Kingdom Address to visitors that express this same concern.

8.4 Remembering the name of the deceased

The perpetuation of the name of the deceased among those (still) living on earth is at the essence of the Appeal texts, but this is not explicitly mentioned in the Appeals of the Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period. Among the Middle Kingdom Appeals from Abydos, however, appears the phrase “it is my good name that you should remember” (*rn.i pw nfr sh3.tn*). In several cases the Appeals indicate that it is at Abydos (stela Turin Suppl. 1447 of Meru) or rather in the temple of Osiris (stela Alnwick Castle 1932 of Dedu) or Khentyamentiyyu (stela Cairo CG 20088 of Tetu) that their names should be remembered. Thus, this expression may be associated with the rites of Osiris and the resurrection of the deceased. The “it is my good name that you should remember” phrase appears again on the 18th dynasty stela Cairo JE 59636,⁸ but in the context of Karnak Temple.

Meru (stela Turin Suppl. 1447) appeals to the personnel of the temple to remember his “good name” at the various festivals celebrated in honour of Osiris. It is clear that at these festivals, such as the monthly, half monthly, *Wagy* festival, and procession of Osiris, rites were enacted at which it was appropriate and fitting to remember the dead. The name of the deceased is remembered when an invocation offering of 1000 bread and beer, etc. is spoken for him or her; this connection is explicitly indicated in the Appeals of stela Leiden V2 (Imyhat) and stela Louvre C166 (Sasopdu). For this reason, several of the Middle Kingdom Appeals from Abydos include requests to perform festivals for Osiris (stelae CG 20538 and 20539) or the gods in general (stela CG 20683 of Iykhernofret). In the Abydene stela Cairo

⁸ See Lichtheim 1992 p. 163, and Lacau 1961 p. 211f. Lacau (1961 pp. 223-4) discusses these examples of the phrase provided to him by Jean Sainte Fare Garnot.

CG 20539, Monthuhotep promises a reward to the one who invokes his name (Lange and Schäfer 1908 p. 154, line 21), i.e. “if he shall mention my good name, I will be his saviour in the presence of the great god.” He further indicates that one should speak in order to perpetuate him in this cenotaph in this its place forever (*dd srwd.tn w(i) m ‘h’ t tn m st.s tn r nhh*). To speak the name of the deceased, therefore, was to ensure the remembrance of him on earth.

The explicit importance of speaking and remembering the name of the deceased is frequently found in the Appeals of the Ramesside Period. The significance of this request is demonstrated by repeated occurrences in the Appeal of Roma-Roy on the 8th Pylon at Karnak (KRI IV pp. 288-9):

Pronounce my name daily as a perfect memorial.
Boast of me on account of my good and mighty deeds ...

Keep my name safe, glorify my deeds.
Speak praise for me before Amun...

Place my good name in the mouth of (future) generations
in accordance with my performing benefactions in the
temple of Amun on every occasion ...

To pronounce the name of the deceased was to recall the memory of him. This memory would be connected with his life and good works performed on earth. The existence of an Appeal indicated a certain level of success on earth to be able to afford a monument, either tomb, stela, or statue. So in speaking the name of the deceased, one was also honouring their good works and affirming one’s respect for the principles of *ma’at*, or the essential harmony and cosmic order of the universe.

In Roma-Roy's Appeal above, the reader is enjoined to pronounce the name (*dm rn*) of the deceased as a memorial or remembrance (*sh3*). These two terms, *dm* and *sh3*, are the most common ones found in association with requests for the name of the deceased in Ramesside Appeals. The 12th Dynasty Appeal of Antef from Sehel already preserves the use of *dm* in a *sdm.ty.fy* form (*dm.ty.fy rn.i*). The request "may you pronounce my name" (*dm.tn rn.i*) occurs in the Appeal of Paser in Theban tomb 106, on the statue of Pahemnetjer (Cairo JE 89046), and on stela Florence 2532 of Tjia from Saqqara; so it appears in almost every context (temple, tomb, statue, and stela) and in both northern and southern Egypt.

In a close parallel to his Appeal on the 8th Pylon of Karnak, on block statue CG 42185, also from Karnak (KRI IV 130.9-10), Roma-Roy requests:

May my name be remembered by those of future generations.
May the generations that will come favour me.
May they extol me on account of my goodness,
as well as my strength.

Again the idea is presented that the remembrance of the deceased by those in the future is connected with his good works and character while on earth. This remembrance (*sh3*) is an honour or favour (*hs*) presented by later generations on those who came before. The stela of Pay (BM156) contains the request (KRI III 210.11) that "his name be remembered in the place of eternity" (*sh3w rn.f m st nhh hsy tn nb 3bdw*) followed by "may the Lord of Abydos favour you". This mention of Abydos in the text suggests the original location of the stela; the place of eternity is presumably the Abydene necropolis.

The concept of remembering the name of the deceased is preserved from the Middle and New Kingdoms, though with varying expressions. In addition to the Abydos Appeals to remember the good name of the deceased, the Appeal from the 13th Dynasty stela of Ipi (Liverpool M 13846) contains a request that “you cause that I am remembered (*sh3*) and I will not be forgotten.” On the late 18th Dynasty stela of Nakhtmin from Akhmim (Louvre C55), is a request for those who read (*šd*) the stela to remember (*sh3*) his name. On Amarna tomb 25 (Urk. IV 1998.6) from the reign of Akhenaten comes a request not too different from those of Roma-Roy, but using the verb *šd* “to read out loud”:

Then you will read out my name
because of what I have done,
(and because) I was righteous on earth.

Again the good works of the deceased on earth are thought to merit that his name be remembered. This religious duty to uphold *maʿat* and honour one’s predecessors did not change in the Amarna period when the worship of Aten was promoted over and against that of other gods, especially that of Amun of Karnak. The Appeal from the Ramesside statue of Patisy from Tell el-Baqlih (Zivie 1975 p. 62) requests of all who see the statue “may they speak my name, may they proclaim my name.” Here the word for speak (*dd*) is used in tandem with the more common word for proclaim (*dm*), with the same meaning as read out loud (*šd*). Other Ramesside Appeals include the wish “may your name endure” using both the verb *mn* (statue Philadelphia UM E.534 of Paser and stela BM 706 of Didia) and the verb *dd* (Zawyet Sultan tomb of Nefersekheru and statue CG 42122 of Didia). Whereas the concept of remembering the name of the deceased is very common in the Ramesside period, it is expressed in different ways without the development of a standard formula, as is often found in earlier periods.

8.5 Requests for offerings

In the Sixth Dynasty the Appeals start to request that the visitor provide actual offerings. The expected offerings consist of bread, beer, and water (cf. the Appeals of Bia/Irery, Hermeru and Isi). Sometimes the requests are more specialized, such as in the Appeal of Nedjemib (Urk. I 75. 10), where there is a request for the visitor to make a libation of water. The same sorts of requests continue in the First Intermediate Period, when for example Henqu of Deir el-Gebrawi (Urk. I 76.8-10) makes three requests of a visitor: 1) say sweet good things, 2) pour out a libation, and 3) give bread and beer. The request is frequently expressed in terms that the visitor provide from that which is in their possession (*m nt(y)t m-ht.tn*), or that which is in their hands (*m nt(y)t m-ʿtn*). The expression with possessions (*ht*) is found in the Appeals of Khentika (Saqqara), Khui (Saqqara), Nedjemib (CG1732), and Tjetu (Giza 2100) from the Old Kingdom. The same expression is written with *hr* in the First Intermediate Period Appeal of Henni (Naga ed-Deir). The expression with hands/arms (*ʿ*) is found in the Appeals of Metjetjy (Saqqara) and Pepiankh heri-ib (Meir) from the Sixth Dynasty, as well as in the Appeals of Iti (Saqqara), Kaka (Naga ed-Deir), and Nefernehesi (Naga ed-Deir) from the First Intermediate Period.

Very likely visitors to the necropoli of the Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period would bring along food and drink. For example, the journey to Giza or Saqqara from the city of Memphis would have taken over an hour each way by foot or donkey; water would be necessary in the hot weather and no doubt other refreshment would be welcome after the journey. It may be that the deceased in requesting offerings expected to share

the food that visitors were likely to be carrying, rather than expecting specially brought offerings. In any case, actual offerings were preferred to an invocation; for example Khui (Drioton 1943 p. 503) says:

From that which is in your hands is
how you should give me bread and beer.
(But) if there is nothing in your hands,
then say with your mouth and offer with your arm
1000 incense, 1000 alabaster vessels,
clothing, fowl, beef, and gazelle, so shall you say.

The invocation ritual gesture here and in the Appeal of Tjetu (Giza 2100) is definitely a second choice to the actual offering of real food and drink, as indicated by the phrase “if there is nothing in your hands” (*ir nfr-n wnn m-ꜥ.ṯn*). This phrase occurs in the First Intermediate Period appeals of Henni, Kaka, and Nefernehesi from Naga ed-Deir, as well as in that of Iti from Saqqara. The “nothing in your hand” phrase also appears in the post-unification 11th Dynasty appeals of Inyotef (CG 20003) and Meru (Turin 1447).

The presentation of actual offerings and libations would be accompanied by an offertory prayer and the appropriate gesture, even if this is not mentioned in the text. This is made clear in the Sixth Dynasty Appeals of Khentika (James 1953 pl. 6 line 6) and Khui (Drioton 1943 p. 503), whose requests for actual offerings are followed by the instruction “then you should speak with your mouth and offer with your arm” (*ḏd.k3.ṯn m r3.ṯn wdn m ꜥ.ṯn*). Likewise, the Eleventh Dynasty Appeal of Meru (stela Turin 1447, Klebs 1922 fig. 14) makes the request “may your invocation and your libation go forth with the bread and beer which shall be in your hand” (*pr ḥrw.ṯn s3t.ṯn m ti ḥnḳt wnn.ty.f(y) m-ꜥ.ṯn*). For the Middle Kingdom, Appeal texts call for the invocation and offertory prayer alone; it is difficult to know if actual offerings were also expected. Sinai inscription 510 (Gardiner &

Peet 1952 pl. XCIV), however, calls for “a libation of water and a burning of incense for the interpreter Senwosret.” Though the offering, libation, invocation, and gesture work together, it is the invocation that is given priority in the Appeal texts, especially in the Middle Kingdom.

Requests for actual offerings appear again in the New Kingdom, especially in the Ramesside Period. During the New Kingdom many of the Appeals are from statues that were set up inside temples; it was expected that they would be able to share the actual offerings given to the deities of the temple. The block statue of Didia from the Karnak cachette (CG 42122), for example, makes promises to the visitor (KRI VII 24.16):

inasmuch as you speak the *htp-di-nsw* (prayer)
and as you pour water for me
as you place offerings for me in my presence
during the reversion of offerings (*wdb-ht*)

The offerings in the reversion would first have been offered to the god of the temple. The offerings could then be divided into smaller shares and placed in front of the different statues in the temple, before being finally provided to temple staff for human consumption. This reversion of offerings and the accompanying prayers and libations would have been performed by temple staff, explaining the popularity of pure ones and lector priests in the Appeal invocations.

It was also appropriate for priests and visitors who had access to present offerings to the statues, as the Appeal of Roma-Roy on the Eighth Pylon at Karnak (KRI IV 289.5-6) indicates:

Place offerings in front of my statue (and)
 pour out (libations) on the ground for my name.
 Place garlands in front of me when you enter (the temple).

The statues of Paser from Deir el-Bahri (Philadelphia UM E.354 and Cairo CG 561) both request that offerings be placed in front of them (*dl.tn ḥtp t m-b3ḥ.i*). Other Ramesside Appeals from Karnak (Bakenkhonsu statue Munich GL.WAF 38 and Roma-Roy statue CG 42186) and Deir el-Medina (Pashedu statue Cairo 11.4.64.1) also call for both garlands and libations. The presentation of the offerings, libations, and garlands would be accompanied by appropriate prayers, invocations, and gestures. Incense may have been more popular in Lower Egypt as it is mentioned along with obeisance and libation on the statue of Meryanptah from Nebesheh (KRI III p. 248) and on the stela of Rahotep from Saqqara (KRI III p. 55) along with libation.

As only the higher grades of the priesthood, such as the god's servant (*ḥmw-ntr*), had access to the temple sanctuary, the statues of deceased individuals set up in the temple offered themselves as intermediaries who could take messages to the actual deities of the temple. Statues set up at the outer limits of temples, such as that of Amenhotep son of Hapu at the north face of the 10th Pylon at Karnak (Cairo JE 44861), would have been accessible to all. Hence the request on this statue (*Urk. I 1835.4-6*) to the people of Karnak:

Come to me that I may report your petitions.
 I am one who reports to this god.
Nebmaʿatre has appointed me to report that of
 which the Two Lands speak.

So the statue of Amenhotep son of Hapu was positioned at the outer edge of Karnak so that he could report the petitions and requests to the god Amun and was so appointed by

Amenophis III. This function of being able to receive requests from temple visitors would explain why there was a reasonable chance that such statues would in fact receive offerings from these visitors.

Since requests for actual offerings appear frequently in the Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period and again in the New Kingdom, it is most unlikely that there was any major change in the Middle Kingdom. As well, the actual offerings that are asked for vary from Appeal to Appeal. I would suggest that in reality the offerings were part of an entire package and that a type of synecdoche is operative in the Appeals, whereby the mention of any one part of the package is understood to represent the whole. This whole would consist principally of offerings, libations, invocations of the deceased's name, and the offertory prayer performed with the appropriate ritual actions. The offerings would have principally been of bread and beer, but other foodstuffs, garlands, and the like also would make excellent offerings; the performance could be enhanced by incense as well.

Most of the First Intermediate Period Appeals from Hatnub (graffiti nos. 12, 16, 17, 20, 22, 25 and 28), and graffito 49 from the reign of Sesostri I contain the request that the traveller (*skd*) lift up his arm to the image (*ḥl.ty.fy ʿfn twt pn*). Though it is possible that a simple salute was intended, much more likely is the interpretation of this gesture to stand for the process of making an offering in the name of the commemorated person.⁹ To raise the arm is the gesture of invocation that is portrayed in the hieroglyphic

⁹ Dominicus (1994 p. 94) discusses *ḥl ʿr* as a gesture meaning "to lift the arm to someone" in the sense of giving a signal. For example, PT 1563 indicates "He will lift his arm to the children of their fathers and they will stand up" (Allen 2005 p. 186).

determinative (Gardiner A26) for such terms as summon (*nis*) or the vocative *i*.¹⁰ Though travellers to quarry sites would not be expected to make elaborate offerings, a few bits of bread and a small amount of water would have been within the capabilities of nearly all the travellers to the site.

Other Appeals also contain requests to raise the arm. From the 12th Dynasty Sehel graffito of Antef (Habachi 1953 fig. 1) comes the request: “he it is who shall bend the arm every day of the festival in Sehel (and) who shall pronounce my name.” The verb here (*kʰ.ty.fy*) is not the same one as used in the Hatnub graffiti, but the grammatical form is the same. The same verb and grammatical form as found at Sehel are found in the 18th Dynasty Appeals of Pahery (el-Kab tomb 3) and Senemiah (Theban tomb 127). The same verb (*kʰ*), but in a subjunctive *sdm.f* form, occurs in the Ramesside Appeal on one of the statues of Paser (Philadelphia UM E.534) from Deir el-Bahri. The complete request (KRI III 17.13) on the statue is “may you bend your hand for me (so that) your name may endure likewise after old age has endured” (*kʰ.tn n.(i) d[rt.tn mn] rn.tn m mit(y)t m-ht i3w w3h*). The association of raising the arm as a gesture of invocation is thus demonstrated by the connection with pronouncing the name of the deceased.

The subjunctive tense is also used with the verb *d3i* in the 12th Dynasty Appeal of Dedu from Abydos (Bakry 1958 p. 65):

May you extend an arm to me in the first procession,
in the great procession, at the festival of fire,
at the monthly (and) mid-monthly festivals,
(namely) at all the festivals of Abydos
for the revered Steward Dedu.

¹⁰ See discussion on “Gesten zu Reden und Rufen” in Dominicus 1994 pp. 77-88.

These are the same festivals as mentioned above in the Appeal of Meru (Turin 1447). So the gesture of extending the arm was practiced at Abydos during the different festivals at which it was appropriate to commemorate those already departed from this life. The same verb (*dʒi*) and grammatical form (subjunctive *sdm.f*) also appear in the other Ramesside Appeal of Paser from Deir el-Bahri (CG 561). The employment of two different verbs on the two statues of Paser suggests parallel usage. Along with the verb *fʒi* used in the Hatnub Appeals, both *kʿh* and *dʒi* refer to the same gesture and by extension to the same package of offerings, libation, invocation, and gesture mentioned above.

8.6 Invocation offering formula

The main request in the Appeal texts is that visitors recite the invocation offering formula that 1000 bread, beer, fowl, beef, alabaster, and clothing be provided for the deceased. In an ideal situation actual examples of all the materials mentioned would be presented at the tomb, though in practice this would be exceptional. Three variants of the invocation formula may be distinguished in the Appeal texts: 1) requests using the actual phrase “may you say 1000 bread (and) beer” (*dd.tn hʒ ti hnkt*), 2) requests using the term *pri-hrw* or “voice offering” and 3) requests for the *hṯp-di-nsw* (prayer) or “offering that the king gives.”¹¹ The first two options are characteristic of the Old Kingdom, First Intermediate Period, and Middle Kingdom, whereas the *hṯp-di-nsw* formula is characteristic of Middle and New Kingdom Appeals.

¹¹ Allen (2000 p. 357-9) provides a recent introduction to the *hṯp-di-nsw* formula, which he divides into four elements: 1. the dedication, 2. the agent, 3. the offerings, and 4. the beneficiary. Gardiner (1957 pp. 170-173 and 1915 pp. 79-93) provides the traditional view of the evolution of the *hṯp-di-nsw* formula, but Frandsen (2003) challenges the idea that the interpretation of the *hṯp-di-nsw* formula changed over time.

The Old Kingdom Appeals exhibit a fair degree of variety in how they phrase the direct request for 1000 bread and beer. Four examples, all from Upper Egypt, use the *sdm.ty.fy* form in the expression “they who shall say 1000 bread (and) 1000 beer” (*dd.ty.sn h3 ti h3 knkt*). These are from the stela (CG 1579) of Pepini from Abydos, the tomb of Harkhuf at Aswan, the tomb of Djaou at Deir el-Gebrawi, and the stela of Meryranefer (CG 43371) from Edfu. The same basic expression, but with the subjunctive *sdm.f*, appears in the Appeals of Kereri from Akhmim and Nekhebu from Giza tomb G2381-2. Without the 1000 (*h3*), the phrase appears in Giza mastaba 2100 of Tjetu after an imperative *dd*; it appears on the stela of Meryranefer (CG 43371) from Edfu after an imperfective participle *dd*. Not only is there not really a standard verb form, but even the 1000 bread and beer may not have been canonical at this time, as the Appeals of Khentika and Khui both include the phrase 1000 incense and (1000) alabaster (vessels) at the beginning of offerings lists containing such unconventional items as pigeon, oryx, and gazelle.

In the First Intermediate Period the direct request to say “bread and beer” for the deceased is the most common request in the Appeal texts of the time. The Old Kingdom variants continue; most common is the subjunctive *sdm.f* form with *dd.tn*. The request “may you say 1000 bread (and) beer” occurs on the stelae of Ab-ihw (Cairo JE 38551) and Seneni (Edinburgh 1910.96) from Dendera, on the stela of Heny from Thebes (Pushkin 18/17/III/78), and on that of Pai from Naga ed-Deir (LMA 6-1073), as well as in Wadi Hammamat inscription M150 (Shemai) and Khor Dehmit graffito 308 (Segersenti). The *sdm.ty.fy* form *dd.ty.sn* appears on the stela of Hemitre (Cambridge

E.6.1909) from Busiris and an imperative form of *dd* appears on the stela of Iti from Gebelein (Turin 13114). A new grammatical variant found only among the Appeals of Naga ed-Deir uses the pseudo-verbal construction with *r* plus infinitive (third future). The phrase “you will speak 1000 bread (and) beer” (*iw.tn r dd h3 m ti hnkt*) appears on the stelae of Idw (BM 250), Iti (Melbourne 39), Iy (Dundee 66.223), Shediti (Cairo 19:11:24:2), Sobekaa (Leiden F1902/7.1), and Weha (OI 16956). The variant “you will speak with your mouth 1000 bread (and) beer” (*iw.tn r dd m r3.tn h3 m ti hnkt*) appears on the stela of Kaka (OI 16955) and Nefernehesi (LMA 6-2042). The addition of the phrase “with your mouth” only emphasizes the power of the spoken word.

In the Middle Kingdom the direct request to say bread and beer for the deceased appears along with requests for invocation offerings (*prt-hrw*) and *htp-di-nsw* prayers in the Appeal texts. Again the subjunctive *sdm.f* with *dd.tn* is the most common grammatical form in the direct requests; the request “may you say 1000 bread (and) beer” is found at least 16 times on the Middle Kingdom stelae from Abydos.¹² Outside of Abydos requests for invocation offerings (*prt-hrw*) and *htp-di-nsw* prayers are more common, but the direct request with the subjunctive *sdm.f* form of *dd.tn* is found in Sinai inscription 53 of Sobekhorhab, at Saqqara on the stela of Neferher (Cairo JE 51733), and on the statue of Sanofret from Aswan (no. 67 from the Elephantine sanctuary of Heqaib). The *sdm.ty.fy* form *dd.ty.sn* appears with direct requests on several Middle Kingdom stelae from

¹² Stelae of Amenemhat (Hannover 2927), Dedusobek (CG 20026), Horemhat (CG 20606), Intef (Leiden V6), Iykhernofret (CG 20683), Khuenbik (BM 584), Minnefer (BM 152), Nakht (CG 20515), Neferniy (Florence 1540), Sasopdu (Louvre C166), Sehetepibre (CG 20538), Senetites (CG 20017), Senwosret (BM offering table), Shen-setj (Los Angeles A.5141.50-876), Userwer (BM 579), and Wepwawet senior (Munich GL/WAF 35).

Abydos¹³ and elsewhere.¹⁴ Examples without the 1000 (*h3*) are found in Sinai inscriptions 118 (Kemau) and 409 (Seninen), as well as on the Abydene stela of Monthuweser (MMA 12.184). Other Middle Kingdom variants are “may you say 1000 of everything” on the stela of Qay from Abydos (CG 20567) and the inclusion of *w^cb* on the stela of Sahathor (BM 569) “may you say it is pure 1000 bread, 1000 beer.”

The tradition of direct requests for 1000 bread and beer in the Appeal texts basically ends with the Middle Kingdom. The only New Kingdom example in the sample is from the statue of Hormin from Memphis (Leiden D38) where there is a request “may they please say 1000 bread and beer for the owner of this tomb” (*ih dd.sn h3 m ti hnkt n nb is pn*). The grammatical form is distinct from the earlier examples in any case.

The offering of bread and beer to the deceased is termed *pri-hrw*, literally a “going forth of the voice,” a term that emphasizes the oral, rather than tangible, nature of the offering. I have translated the loaf and jar depicted at the end of the expression, though it may be that these are really to be thought of as determinatives (Clère 1941 pp. 788-9). In the Old Kingdom examples, *pr* may be treated as a transitive verb with *hrw* as the object (Gardiner 1957 p. 172). So in his Giza tomb, Nekhebu calls upon the *k3*-priests “may you make invocation offerings of bread and beer in the same way as I have done for the ancestors” (*pr.tn hrw [m] ti hnkt mi irt.n.(i) n itw.tn*). At the same time *pri-hrw* appears as a bound form as the object of another verb. For example, in the Appeal of Sefegat (Fischer 1976 fig.2) it appears as the object of *iri* “to perform or make” in the expression

¹³ Stelae of Khnumnakht (CG 20518), Ptahwer (CG 20061), and Sasatet (Louvre C5).

¹⁴ Statue of Ankhu and Sepnimut from Dahshur, Sinai inscription 511 of Mereru, and the stela of Ipi (Liverpool M 13846).

“to make invocation offerings of bread and beer at this my tomb” (*r irt prt-hrw ti hnkt r is.(i) pn*). Likewise, on the stela (CG 1431) of Djaou from Abydos (Urk. I 119.7) *prt-hrw* appears as the object of *šdt* “to read out or recite” in the expression “you shall recite for me the invocation offering of bread and beer” (*iw.tn r šdt n.i prt-hrw ti hnkt*).

In the First Intermediate Period the bound form *prt-hrw* continues to appear as the object of other verbs such as *dd* “to speak” (Asyut tomb 3 of It-ibi) or *šd* “to read out or recite” (stela of Iti from Saqqara, cg. Urk. I 197). It-ibi in Asyut tomb 3 (Brunner 1937 p. 42) requests of visitors “you shall give thanks and (say) an invocation offering of bread and beer” (*iw.tn r dw3-ntr r prt-hrw ti hnkt*). The same expression appears in the Appeal of Sarenput I at his tomb (no.36) at Qubbet el-Hawa (Gardiner 1909 pl. VI). More commonly in the Middle Kingdom, *prt-hrw* appears as the object of the verb *rdi* “to give” (Gardiner 1957 p. 172). The request “may he/they give an invocation offering of bread and beer” (*di.f/sn prt-hrw ti hnkt*) appears repeatedly, although not as commonly in the Middle Kingdom Appeal texts as either the direct request that one say 1000 bread and beer or as the request for the *hṭp-di-nsw* prayer. Examples include the statue of Ameny from Saqqara (Cairo JE 51481), the stela of Wahka I from Qaw el-Kebir (Turin 1547), the stela of Ameny from Abydos (Geneva D50), the stela of Rehw-ankh from Abydos (Berlin 7311), the anonymous stela no. 88 from the Elephantine sanctuary of Heqaib, and the stela of Nebipu from Semna (Khartoum 2646).

The *hṭp-di-nsw* prayer is well known from the Old Kingdom (Barta 1968 p. 3-35), but it does not appear in association with the Appeal texts of this period. The literal translation

of *ḥtp-di-nsw* is “an offering that the king gives” or more traditionally “a boon which the king gives” (Gardiner 1957 p. 171); it is a relative clause with the word for king in honorific transposition. The original idea is that all funerary gifts and offerings ultimately are provided by the king and in this sense one may translate *ḥtp-di-nsw* as “royal offering” (Allen 2000 p. 358). But in addition to mention of the king, various deities are also associated with the *ḥtp-di-nsw* prayer. The traditional interpretation is that in the Old Kingdom the associated deities in parallel with the king provided the offerings (Gardiner 1957 p. 171 and Leprohon 1990). Since the Appeals are directed towards visitors to the tomb in the Old Kingdom, it makes sense that the *ḥtp-di-nsw* as “royal offering” is not included; there is no indication that the king would be expected to visit the tomb and provide any (further) offerings.

The change that takes place in the interpretation of the *ḥtp-di-nsw* during the First Intermediate Period allows it to be included within the Appeal texts. The one example of *ḥtp-di-nsw* in a First Intermediate Period Appeal is found in the tomb of Khety at Aysut (Edel 1984 p. 167), where visitors are requested to make (*ir*) a *ḥtp-di-nsw* (prayer) for Khety. The use of the verb *ir* suggests that it still may be the case that an actual offering is being envisaged rather than the spoken prayer. By the Middle Kingdom the verb *ḏd* is used, indicating that the *ḥtp-di-nsw* is meant as an invocation, or prayer to be spoken. The change in the interpretation of *ḥtp-di-nsw* is that by the Middle Kingdom the offerings from the king to a deity are thought to be redirected to the deceased in a type of

reversion (Gardiner 1957 pp. 171-2 and Leprohon 1990), instead of dealing with actual offerings directly from the king.¹⁵

This revised interpretation is supported by the late Middle Kingdom Appeal of Ramenyankh (Simpson 1974 pl. 2) from Abydos (stela CG 20748):

May you say a *ḥtp-di-nsw* (prayer consisting of)
1000 bread, beer, beef, fowl, alabaster, clothing, offerings,
(namely the) provisions consisting of what comes
forth from the offering tables of the Foremost-of-the-Westerners
for the *k3* of the Chamberlain and Overseer of Works Ramenyankh.

The offerings for the deceased are here explicitly said to be coming from the offerings provided to Khentyamentiyu, the “Foremost-of-the-westerners,” who is the local deity in Abydos in the Old Kingdom, but who in the Middle Kingdom is assimilated with Osiris as the king of the dead (Wegner 2001 p. 8, Spiegel 1973 p. 7). In a sense the agent of the gift has now become the deity, who -- when the prayer is spoken -- shares the offerings originally directed to him/her with the deceased. The king is everywhere in Egypt depicted as the proper person to be offering to the gods, even if the priests he appoints must perforce normally substitute for him. In this sense all offerings to the gods are royal offerings, as indicated by the *ḥtp-di-nsw* phrase. It is not clear, however, that the king would necessarily be involved with private funerary cults;¹⁶ whatever its origin, the *ḥtp-di-nsw* phrase comes to be used for the generic invocation offering (*pṛt-ḥrw*).

¹⁵ Whether or not the *ḥtp-di-nsw* formula actually underwent any change at all is still a matter of debate, with Franke (2003) again suggesting that there really was not any change, cf. Barta (1968).

¹⁶ Strudwick (2005 p. 31) theorizes that the *ḥtp-di-nsw* formula may indicate that giving offerings to private cults was (at least originally) a royal monopoly. I find this hypothesis, discounting the involvement of family and descendants, difficult to accept, and am more attracted to the idea that the formula may reflect royal permission to be buried in the necropolis.

Though the name of a deity frequently follows the *hṭp-di-nsw* phrase, this is by no means always the case.¹⁷ It is not clear if there would be any difference in interpretation between the *hṭp-di-nsw* with the deity specified and without. When specified, the deities invoked in the *hṭp-di-nsw* prayers are either local deities or those associated with the success of the deceased in the Afterlife. In the case of Abydos, these were the same as the Middle Kingdom stelae from Abydos mention Osiris,¹⁸ with various epithets such as foremost of the westerners,¹⁹ great god,²⁰ lord of Abydos,²¹ and Anubis.²² Osiris and Anubis are also mentioned in the *hṭp-di-nsw* formulae in the Appeals from other places in Egypt and are not exclusive to Abydos.²³ Local deities are included in the *hṭp-di-nsw* formulae of Appeals, such as Satis, Khnum, and Anukis from Aswan (statue of Demi, no. 52 from Elephantine sanctuary of Heqaib), Wepwawet, lord of the sacred land²⁴ (stela of Senpu, Turin 1628), and Ptah-Sokar of Memphis (stela of Neferher, CG 20829). The Appeal of Nebipu from Semna (stela Khartoum 2646) includes both the Memphite deity Ptah-Sokar-Osiris and “the gods and goddesses who are in this land and Sobek.” So

¹⁷ Middle Kingdom Appeals that include a request for a *hṭp-di-nsw* (prayer) without specifying a deity include the stelae from Abydos of Amenemhat (CG 20497), Amenyankhren (CG 20458), Hor (Hermitage 1073), Nenkhemsen (Hermitage 1081), Samenkhet (CG 20030), Sasobek (CG 20046), Sehetepibre (CG 20538), and Wenemtykheperkare (CG 20401). From other sites Appeals without deities in the *hṭp-di-nsw* formulae include the statue of Senebbu (no. 49) from the Elephantine sanctuary of Heqaib, as well as the stela of Mutwer (no. 46), and slab of Heqaib (no. 20) from the same site, the statue base of Iti from Dahshur, and Sinai inscription 28 of Sobekhotep.

¹⁸ See discussion by Spiegel 1973 pp. 7-42.

¹⁹ Stelae of Ameny (Geneva D50), Burekhef (CG 20540), Rehw-ankh (Berlin 3711), Sa-satet (Basel III 5002), and Seneb (CG 20093).

²⁰ Burekhef (CG 20540), Nebipusenwosret (BM 101), Rehw-ankh (Berlin 3711), and Sobekhotep (Tübingen 458).

²¹ Burekhef (CG 20540), Nebipusenwosret (BM 101), Rehw-ankh (Berlin 3711), Sa-satet (Basel III 5002) and Seneb (CG 20093) and Sobekhotep (Tübingen 458).

²² Stelae of Ameny (Geneva D50), Sa-satet (Basel III 5002) and Seneb (CG 20093). See discussion by Spiegel 1973 pp. 42-49.

²³ Osiris foremost-of-the-westerners appears in the *hṭp-di-nsw* formula in the Appeal of Demi from the Elephantine sanctuary of Heqaib (no. 52) and Osiris lord of Busiris appears in the Appeal of Ameny (Cairo JE 51481) from Saqqara. Anubis appears in the *hṭp-di-nsw* formula in the Appeal of Wahka I from Qaw el-Kebir (Turin 1547).

²⁴ Indicating the cemetery at Abydos, cf. Hoffmeier 1985 pp. 85-7.

whereas no particular deity is associated with the *hṭp-di-nsw* prayer, if no deity is mentioned either a local or a funerary deity may be supplied.

Local deities are mentioned in the *hṭp-di-nsw* prayers in New Kingdom Appeals. Statues from Thebes, such as those of Amenuser (CG 42118) from Karnak, Djehuty (UC 14351) from Deir el-Bahri, and Brooklyn 37.30 of Djehuty, include Amun-Ra or Amun of Karnak in the *hṭp-di-nsw* prayer. Ptah-Sokar south-of-his-wall is included in the *hṭp-di-nsw* prayer on the statue of Ptahmose (Florence 1790) from Memphis. Osiris appears in the *hṭp-di-nsw* prayer on the stela of Nakhtmin from Akhmin (Louvre C55).

Most of the Ramesside Appeals lack any deity in the *hṭp-di-nsw* prayer,²⁵ but in Theban tomb 65 of Imiseba (KRI VI 546.12), Ra-horakhty and Osiris are included.

The changing interpretation of the *hṭp-di-nsw* formula over time is reflected in the Appeal texts. The original request is for royal offerings and this idea of actual offerings is never entirely lost if we accept the idea that a request to “make” (*ir*) or perform a *hṭp-di-nsw* is a request that offerings be presented to the deceased. For example, the Middle Kingdom stela of Senpu (Turin 1628) from Abydos and the 18th Dynasty statue of Amenuser (CG 42118) from Karnak both preserve the use of *ir* with *hṭp-di-nsw*. But the vast majority of the Appeal texts in both the Middle and New Kingdoms that include the request indicate that the *hṭp-di-nsw* formula is to be spoken, using the verb *ḏd*. Though offerings are not excluded, the primary emphasis is on the spoken word or prayer. The agent of the offerings by the Middle Kingdom was not really considered to be the king personally, but

²⁵ Statue of Iuny from Deir Durunka (MMA 33.2.1), statue of Paser from Deir el-Bahri (CG 561), statue of Pahemnuther from Saqqara (Cairo JE 89046), two Theban statues of Didia (Louvre C50 and CG 42122), and a Karnak statue of Roma-Roy (CG 42186).

rather the funerary establishment as a whole. Since the king was head of the religious as well as civil hierarchy in ancient Egypt, this interpretation is a shift in emphasis, but not an absolute alteration or distinct demarcation.

The presenter of benefits to the deceased is normally thought to be a funerary deity, such as Osiris, Anubis, or Ptah-Sokar; the individual deity varies depending on the locality. Since the inclusion of the name of the deity appears to be an optional feature in the *ḥtp-di-nsw* formula, it cannot have been considered necessary for an effective prayer. What was necessary was that offerings be invoked in the name of the deceased. Every time the *ḥtp-di-nsw* formula, the *prt-hrw* voice offering, or the direct request for 1000 bread and beer was repeated for the name of the deceased, the necessities of the Afterlife for the deceased would have been magically renewed. The popularity of the *ḥtp-di-nsw* formula in the stelae from Abydos during the Middle Kingdom indicates the desire of Egyptians from this time to participate in the great festival in honour of Osiris, to partake of the offerings, and to participate in the resurrection of this god. The popularity of the *ḥtp-di-nsw* formula on private statues dedicated in the major cult temples of the New Kingdom, such as that of Amun at Karnak or Ptah at Memphis, indicates that the individuals represented in the statues hoped to participate in the reversion of the offerings made to these deities.

The spoken request for offerings for the deceased was essentially the same, whether it was made directly, called a voice offering (*prt-hrw*), or a *ḥtp-di-nsw* prayer. The words used to describe it may vary and the basic formula can be elaborated on by listing a

greater or lesser number of offerings and by invoking the names of local and/or funerary deities. No doubt some individuals considered more to be better, but the essentials are only the spoken request for offerings and the name of the deceased. The invocation formula is so simple and so pervasive in ancient Egyptian funerary monuments that one suspects that most Egyptians would have learned it while they were young and would understand the desirability of pronouncing the blessing whenever they visited a tomb or mortuary complex as a way of indicating respect to the dead. So in the Appeal of Nekhebu (Urk. I 218.1-4), we read:

Then make invocation offerings of bread and beer
in the same way as I have done for your ancestors.
Since you want me to watch over you in the necropolis,
tell your children on the day wherein I have departed
the words of the invocation offering for me ...

Nekhebu states that he has made invocation offerings to the ancestors of the *k3*-priests that he expects to maintain his mortuary cult, and tells them to return the favour. Moreover, they are enjoined to explain to their children the invocation offering formula specifically in relation to Nekhebu; there can be little doubt that a more general instruction to respect the dead and pray for the benefit of their souls would have been part of every ancient Egyptian's upbringing.

8.7 Conclusion

The Old Kingdom developed specific types of Appeals that requested embalmers and lector priests to do their jobs properly and that requested visitors to the tomb to treat it properly by being pure and by not damaging the burial, the tomb inscriptions, or its physical composition. In addition, a more general type of Appeal developed, which

requested that the visitor provide funerary offerings for the deceased, and if the visitor did not happen to have offerings at hand, to at least remember the deceased by speaking the invocation formula. It is this more general form of request that continued in the Appeals of the First Intermediate Period, Middle Kingdom, Second Intermediate Period, and New Kingdom.

The general request that the visitor provide funerary offerings for the deceased envisaged the enactment of a sort of rite or small ceremony on behalf of the deceased. Actual offerings of bread and beer, as well as beef, fowl, alabaster, and clothing were desirable, as were a libation of water and the presentation of incense. As these were presented to the deceased, a short prayer would be intoned, which essentially identified the offerings being presented and the name of the person for whom they were being given, while the arm of the presenter would be raised in a gesture of invocation. An example of an invocation from the 12th Dynasty stela (BM 152) of Minnefer (HT IV pl. 5 line 5) is “one thousand bread and beer, beef and fowl for the revered one, the chamberlain Minnefer, justified.” The use of 1000 (*h3*) is traditional and probably is to be interpreted as an abundance or multitude (as in the term *h3w*) rather than as a precise numerical accounting. The idea of a generous provision for the deceased is encompassed in the term, but we cannot imagine that very often, if ever, were funerary offerings of that magnitude provided for private individuals. But a smaller amount, on the *pars pro toto* principle, could represent the larger amount invoked in the offering prayer.

Following the same *pars pro toto* principle, the request for the remembrance of the name of the deceased or to raise the arm or even for invocation offerings or a *ḥtp-di-nsw* (prayer) was essentially the same request for a funerary offering for the deceased.

Because of the cultural context, it would have been understood that the remembrance of the name of the deceased would be to invoke that name in the funerary prayer. Raising the arm is a reference to the ritual gesture accompanying the funerary prayer; requests to raise the arm would have been understood to include the oral component, just as requests to speak the voice offering (*pwt-ḥrw*) or *ḥtp-di-nsw* (prayer) would have been understood to include the ritual gesture. Thus, while the wording of the requests in the Appeals varies in the First Intermediate Period, Middle Kingdom, and New Kingdom, the essential request is almost always that the funerary prayer be spoken for the deceased.

9.0 APPEAL MOTIVATIONS

The Appeal of Kaiherasetef (Urk. I 10.6-7) states “Any people who shall see this (inscription), may they praise god for me because of this.” So the mere fact of seeing the Appeal is presented as a sufficient motivation for remembering the deceased; indeed, this is a basic prerequisite for all Appeal texts – they must be seen to be effective. Ultimately the Appeals are dependent on the goodwill of the viewer, but a system of incentives or rewards, and sometimes punishments, are included in the Appeals in order to entice the viewer to take the time to spare a moment or two for the deceased. An examination of these motivations reveals much about ancient Egyptian society and its Afterlife beliefs.

The basic motivations found in the Appeal texts include the following:

- 1) the good character of the deceased while living merits his remembrance.
- 2) the power of the deceased as an *3h*-spirit to reward and punish the living is an incentive to maintain good relations.
- 3) following from no. 2, offers by the deceased to act as a protector in the necropolis or at the Afterlife tribunal.
- 4) threats of punishments for malefactors.
- 5) the promise to pass on one’s office(s) to one’s children.
- 6) the reward of proper behaviour to the deceased by the king and/or by a local deity or by both.
- 7) special situations, such as the safe return of expedition members.
- 8) the fact that saying the offertory prayer costs nothing and is not strenuous.

The remainder of this chapter deals with each of these motivations in turn.

9.1 Good character of the deceased

The owner of an Appeal hopes to establish a rapport with those who read it and thereby demonstrate that he merits their attention. Egyptian private tomb biographies tend to be idealizing and contain attestations of the good character of the deceased. The Appeal texts are no exception, as their owners identify with the accepted moral and ethical values of their society (Ockinga 2001 p. 484). Attestations of the good character of the deceased frequently appear in the longer Appeals from the Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period. With some rare exceptions, however, the Appeals from the Middle Kingdom do not include attestations of the good character of the deceased, but these reappear in the New Kingdom Appeals.

The attestations of good character are so all encompassing and generic that rather than necessarily being taken literally as a statement of actual fact, they may be understood as a somewhat magical means of creating the situation after the fact in which no wrong was done. For example, Hermeru (Hassan 1975 p. 77) states “I have never done anything evil against anyone, because I wished to be in harmony (*m3ʿ*) with god (and) to be in good with the people.” This sort of declaration of innocence, as with those later expressed in chapter 125 of the Book of the Dead, reflect the concept of *maʿat* as encompassing correct behaviour in a stable, god-created, social order. The motivation for this correct behaviour was both respect for the gods and a desire to obtain the approbation of one’s colleagues. Once established, this behaviour implies that the deceased merits the respect and proper treatment from succeeding generations.

The Old Kingdom Appeals, being from tombs, exist in a context in which it was possible to find out a fair amount about the deceased from the inscriptions and depictions. Still Old Kingdom Appeals frequently include blanket claims to having acted correctly in this life. In return, there is the expectation that they will be rewarded for this behaviour and be treated correctly by subsequent generations. For example, Bia/Irery (Wilson 1954 fig. 1) states:

I am one among you, who speaks well and who repeats well
I never said anything evil against anybody.
I never took anything belonging to any man
So that I might be estranged from any man

These same sentiments are found over and over again, though the exact words may change slightly.¹ Harkhuf (Urk. I 122.17-123.1) also states that he is one who spoke well and repeated what is liked, continuing on to state that he “never said anything bad against any man in authority.” So the idea of speaking and repeating well was to respect one’s contemporaries and avoid making any enemies. Likewise, the Appeals of Nedjemib (Urk. I 75.15) and Pehenwikai (Urk. I 49.4) indicate that the deceased never seized another’s property,² indicating that their own property deserves to be respected.

The First Intermediate Period Appeals continue to emphasize the good deeds of the deceased to indicate that they are worthy of receiving the attention of future generations. For example, in his Appeal (Melbourne 39) from Naga ed-Deir (Fischer 1981 fig. 4) Iti indicates:

I am an excellent commoner,
who acts with his strong arm,
who adds to the property of his father.
I am one who speaks well, who repeats well,
who arranges matters successfully.

¹ On the phrase *ink dd nfr whm nfr* see Kloth 2002 pp. 100-103.

² On the phrase *n sp it.(i) ht (nyt) rmt nb* see Kloth 2002 pp. 90-1.

Iti is not alone in citing these virtues. Shediti in his Appeal from Naga ed-Deir (Cairo 19:11:24:2) also indicates that he is an excellent commoner who acts with his strong arm. Speaking, repeating well, and arranging matters successfully are also found in the Appeal of Nefernehsi (LMA 6-2042) from Naga ed-Deir. Giving bread (and beer) to the hungry and clothes to the naked are cited in the Appeals of Hemitre (Cambridge E.6.1909) from Busiris, Meru (Turin 1447) from Thebes and Iti (Melbourne 39) from Naga ed-Deir. Love and respect from family members, such as parents (Appeal of Shediti from stela Cairo 19:11:24:2), siblings (Appeal of Kaka from stela Chicago OI 16955) and husband (Appeal of Hemitre from stela Cambridge E.6.1909) are frequently found in the First Intermediate Period Appeals. These attestations of good character are generic phrases that indicate the proper sort of behaviour during this time period, getting along with others, generosity towards those in need, and love of family.

These same behaviours are again attested in a number of Appeals from the 18th Dynasty, especially in some of the Appeals from the Theban tombs. In an attestation of good character from the tomb of Senemiah (Theban tomb 127), the deceased states (Urk. IV 511.4-512.5):

When I was in this land of the living,
I did not act so that a god suffered...
Never did I neglect the beer jar on his day.
Never was I accused by anybody.
... in order to be wise.

I have given bread to the one who has none,
I have quenched the thirsty one from his thirst.
I have acted the same way towards those within
... I have established invocation offerings of bread and beer
... god
I have not failed the one who answers (for) what was done ...

The blessed dead is the father of the one who acts for him
 He does not forget the one who pours water for him.
 The fact that you hear it is good.

The idea is that just as he made offerings and was generous in providing for the needs of others, so too is he deserving of receiving offerings from others. The last passage is repeated word for word in the Appeal of Pahery from el-Kab (NK.29). The blessed dead (*s^ch*) is the deceased, who here promises to act for the visitor as a father would and not to forget the one who makes a libation for him. The first step in this process is listening (*s^dm*) to the Appeal of the deceased.

The attestations of good character continue to be popular in the Ramesside Period; there is a change in emphasis as more often the deceased claims merit through having accomplished his job well. For example, the Marine standard-bearer Khetef (stela Louvre C95) in the reign of Ramesses II (KRI III p. 265) states "I am a leader of the royal forces, (the) best of the (the) gang (at) his row." From Deir el-Medina, Pashedu (Bruyère 1953 pp. 29-30) indicates his positions as a "scribe, a master of the hieroglyphic script, whose name is proclaimed in her presence." Pashedu's block state (Cairo 11:4:64:1) was set up in the temple of Hathor at Deir el-Medina and Hathor is no doubt the deity in whose presence he felt honoured. In many cases, it is their priestly roles that Appeal owners emphasize as making them worthy of future offerings. Anhurnakhte (KRI IV 375.11-12) indicates that in his role of doorkeeper of a temple he had heard people's requests. High priest of Amun Bakenkhonsu (KRI III p. 297-8) states humbly that he was "a servant useful to his lord." Others cite their great building works as evidence of merit. For example, the Lord Mayor Huy of Memphis (KRI III p. 169) states that he built

“great pylons of Tura limestone, doorways (covered) with electrum (and) a monumental broad hall ” and Didia (KRI VII 25.1-2) cites his work of renewing Theban monuments.

Overall, the concept of the good character of the deceased is connected with the Egyptian conception of *maʿat*, which played an important role in ancient Egyptian biographical texts (Lichtheim 1992). One example of this role is found in the Ramesside Appeal of the Treasury official Huysbery (KRI I 332.16-333.2):

I am one who is excellent and cool-(tempered) ...
one who placed *maʿat* in his heart/mind,
without neglecting her occasion;
when I came forth from the womb,
she was (already) mingled with my heart/mind ...
I know that my god is at peace with her,
and lives for her every day.

By asserting that the deceased had behaved correctly during his lifetime, an implicit argument is set up that the viewer too should behave properly and in accordance with *maʿat*. Part of this correct behaviour would be to show respect to the deceased and to recite the invocation on their behalf.³

9.2 Status of the deceased as an *ʒh* spirit

The status of the deceased as an effective *ʒh* spirit is frequently mentioned in the Appeal texts from the Old Kingdom⁴ and First Intermediate Period.⁵ Appeals from the Middle and New Kingdoms, however, only occasionally mention the status of the deceased as an

³ Other examples of this situation appear in the Appeals of Tjia (Florence 2532) and of Bakenkhonsu (Munich Gl.WAF.38)

⁴ For example, in the Appeals of Harkhuf (Aswan), Hermeru (Saqqara), Ibi (Deir el-Gebrawi), Metjetjy (Saqqara), Nekhebu (Giza), Nyankhpepy (Saqqara), Pepiankh-heri-ib (Meir), Sefegat (Saqqara), and Ti (Saqqara).

⁵ For example, in the Appeals of Hekenu (Moʿalla), Hemire (Busiris), Iti (Saqqara), and Iti-ib (Asyut).

effective *3h* spirit.⁶ Nevertheless, the Appeals are a major source for information about the Egyptians' conception of the *3h* spirit (Demarée 1983 p. 206). The deceased became a transfigured being in the afterlife through a process (*s3h*) that involved efficacious spells and the proper burial rites. Once these rites were accomplished, the deceased as an *3h* spirit would be fully capable of interfering in the affairs of the living, as well as in the realm of the dead (Friedman 2001 p. 47 and Englund 1978).

Something of the power of an *3h* spirit in Egyptian ideology is indicated in the Appeal of Khui (Drioton 1943 p. 503):

(For) I am an effective *3h* spirit
who knows every effective magic spell (and)
who knows every (other) effective *3h* spirit
who is buried in his tomb of the necropolis
in the western desert.

The deceased here indicates that there is a fellowship or collectivity among all the blessed dead buried in the cemetery and claims power through the knowledge of magical spells. Likewise, Metjetjy (Kaplony 1968 pl. III) claims that he is “one honoured amongst the *3h*-spirits of the necropolis.” Nyankhpepy (Hassan 1975 fig. 39) indicates that since he is an effective *3h* spirit, magical spells are not effective against him, followed by the statement “I am an excellent lector priest and learned man.” Demarée (1983 p. 208) suggests that these claims to knowledge by the deceased are as a result of the attainment of the transformation into the glorious state of an *3h* spirit, as opposed to the actual status and knowledge of the deceased while alive. If so, then the power and knowledge of effective magic and defence against magic would be common to all *3h* spirits.

⁶ For example, the 12th Dynasty Appeal of Neferher (CG 20829) from Saqqara and the 18th Dynasty Appeal of Senenmut (Theban tomb 71 ceiling).

The statement found in the Appeal texts, as well as in the wider genre of autobiographical texts, -- that the deceased is an effective *ꜣḥ* spirit -- was an important reminder to the Egyptians that the deceased still had a certain power and standing and that deeds enacted in the empty tomb would not go unnoticed and could have consequences. A basically reciprocal relationship is illustrated through the various Appeal texts, as well as through the letters to the dead.⁷ Good treatment of the deceased in the form of an *ꜣḥ* spirit brings rewards. For example, Hemitre states that she is “an effective *ꜣḥ* spirit” and therefore will not cause evil for those who provide invocation offerings.⁸ The Hu bowl contains a letter to the dead which speaks of “making invocation offerings to an *ꜣḥ* spirit, in return for intercession on behalf of one (still) on earth” (*irrt prt-ḥrw n ꜣḥ ḥr sbt ḥr tpy-tꜣ*).⁹ Thus, the offerings to the deceased, both verbal and physical, may be understood to benefit the *ꜣḥ* spirit.

On the other hand, transgression against an *ꜣḥ* spirit brings punishment. For example, Metjetjy (Kaplony 1968 pl. III) states:

There will be no bread and beer for a man,
should he transgress against him in the necropolis
(or) should he act harmfully against any *ꜣḥ* spirit
who exists buried in the beautiful west.

This is a blanket statement saying that there will be no funerary offerings for anyone who does not respect the blessed dead. Papyrus Leiden I 371 is an example of how an *ꜣḥ* spirit was believed to have been punishing a living person; a man believes that his dead wife is

⁷ The connection between these two genres of texts is noted in Demarée 1983 p. 214, as well in Gardiner-Sethe 1928 pp. 10-11 and Gunn 1930 p. 147.

⁸ Fischer 1976 p. 17 and Demarée 1983 p. 212.

⁹ Gardiner-Sethe 1928 p. 5 and pl. IV, Gunn 1930 p. 152, Demarée 1983 p. 214 and Keller 1989 pp. 60-72.

bringing him misfortune, so he writes to her “to the excellent 3*h* spirit Ankhiry. With what evil deed have you acted against me that I should be in this evil condition in which I am?”¹⁰ This ability to bring misfortune to the living, led to a certain amount of fear of 3*h* spirits among the Egyptians. In the Appeal texts, Nenki (Urk. I 260.17-18) threatens to “cause all those who live on earth to fear the 3*h* spirits who are in the West” and Ankhmahor (Urk. I 202.7-8) in another 6th Dynasty Appeal text suggests that both the living and dead “should fear an excellent 3*h* spirit.” Fear of the harm that could be inflicted by the 3*h* spirits was, therefore, a motivation for proper treatment of the dead in ancient Egypt.

9.3 Deceased as a protector

The deceased as an effective 3*h*-spirit in certain cases also offers a degree of protection to those who may soon be joining him in the Afterlife, as shown by the use of the word “protector” (*h3y*) in the Old Kingdom Appeal texts. As a reward for those who enter his tomb in purity and make offerings, Ankhmahor (Urk. I 202. 10-11) offers to act as a protector in the necropolis and in the tribunal of the great god (*h3y.f m hrt-ntr m d3d3t n(y)t ntr 3*). Generally, these two different protective roles, 1) that of preserving the tomb of the deceased in the necropolis, and 2) that of defending the deceased during the judgement in the Afterlife, appear separately in the Appeal texts.

In addition to Ankhmahor, Hermeru (Hassan 1975 v.3 fig. 39) and Khentika (James 1953 pl. 5 B14), both from Saqqara, also promise to be protectors (*h3y*) of the deceased in the

¹⁰ Möller 1910 p. 13 and Gardiner-Sethe 1928 pp. 8-9, pls. 7-8. See also Wente 1990 pp. 216-7, Guilmet 1973 and Blok 1924.

necropolis. The idea may well be to ensure the safety of the physical tomb, the safety of the tomb's contents, including the mummy of the deceased, and the safety of the offerings. The use of the term *h3y* in the Appeals is limited to the Memphite necropolis and its use in the Appeals continues as late as the Appeal of Iti (Saqqara) from the beginning of the First Intermediate Period. Elsewhere the same sort of promise is made, but other terms are used. In the Old Kingdom Appeal of Harkhuf (Aswan) and in the First Intermediate Period Appeal of It-ibi (Asyut), the verb *sbi* "to watch over" is used to promise protection in the necropolis. In the Middle Kingdom, such terms as *mkty* "guardian" and *šd* "saviour" are used to promise protection to the deceased in the necropolis.¹¹ The New Kingdom Appeals no longer contain specific promises to protect the deceased, either before the council of the great god or in the necropolis.

Ti (Urk. I 174.3), Isi (Edel 1979 p. 107) and Sefegat (Fischer 1976 fig. 12), all from Saqqara, also offer their services as protectors (*h3y*) before this council in the Afterlife in return for purity and invocation offerings from the tomb visitor.¹² More often the tribunal of the great god is mentioned in terms of punishment for transgressions such as "having eaten things detestable to an excellent *3h*-spirit" (Ankhmahor, Urk. I 202.4), eating that which is impure (Ti), entering a tomb without being purified (Kagemni, Hetepherakhet, Ti), or with hostility (*sb*), or with evil intent (Hermeru), or doing anything harmful against the tomb of the deceased (Nyankhpepy). In any case, the idea of having someone

¹¹ For *mkty* the stela of Sobekhotep (Tübingen 458) from Abydos, and for *šd* the stela of Montuhotep (CG 20539) from Abydos quoted below. In the Liverpool stela of Ipi (M 13846), the deceased promises to be a protective image (*sšmw nq-hr*) to anyone who recites an invocation offering for him.

¹² Using slightly different terminology (*rmn* instead of *h3y*), Bia/Irery also promises to be a supporter of those who provide invocation offerings in the council of the great god.

powerful on your side while being presented at the tribunal in the Afterlife was an assurance that the deceased viewer would be treated fairly, or perhaps even leniently.

The mention of the afterlife tribunal, where transgressions are dealt with through a judicial process, is an indication that the afterlife envisioned in the Appeal texts appears to be a fairly civilized place. The recurring phrase *wḏꜥ-mdw ḥnꜥ.f*¹³ indicates that the deceased will be held liable with the transgressor in the magistrate's court (*m ḏ3ḏ3t*) or before the great god (*ntr ꜥ3*).¹⁴ The great god is certainly the pre-eminent authority in the Afterlife and the use of the generic term is suitable because the name of the deity in question would depend upon the conception of the afterlife invoked.¹⁵ In chthonic terms it would be Osiris who presided over the Egyptian afterlife, but in terms of a heavenly afterlife, Ra would be invoked. Likewise, even the deceased king, who was equated with Osiris, may be meant.¹⁶

The Afterlife tribunal is also invoked with slightly different terminology, which may be considered as variations of the above. With regard to anyone impure entering his tomb,

¹³ Appearing in the following Old Kingdom Appeals: OK.2 Inti (Deshasha), OK.5a Ankhmahor (Saqqara), OK.9 Pehenwikai (Saqqara), OK.11 Merykhufu (Giza), OK.14 Nyankhpepy (Saqqara), OK.16b Nekhebu (Giza), OK.19 Hermeru (Saqqara), OK.22 Hetepherakhet (Saqqara D60), OK.30 Kagemni (Saqqara), OK.31 Ti (Saqqara), OK.32b Tjetu (Giza 2100), and on the false door (OK.33) of Denwen (Urk. I 73.5).

¹⁴ For a discussion of *wḏꜥ mdw* see Zandee 1960 pp. 264-268. Literally meaning "the cutting of speech," the use of *wḏꜥ mdw* in the Old Kingdom indicates a legal solution to a complaint between a plaintiff and a defendant in front of a judge. The term also appears in letters of the dead at this period, as for example in the Cairo text on linen and the Kaw bowl (cf. Gardiner and Sethe 1928 and Keller 1989).

¹⁵ Callender (1998 p. 161) calls the great god, the god of the necropolis, explaining (p. 160) that in the Old Kingdom Sokar was the god of the Giza and Saqqara cemeteries and Khentyamentiyou was the god of the Abydos cemetery. Baines (1983 p. 15) acknowledges that "*ntr ꜥ3* characterizing an unnamed deity is common from the Old Kingdom on," but suggests that usually the idea of a major or "genuinely" great god is meant. Hornung (1982 pp. 186-189) suggests that *ntr ꜥ3* should be translated as "the greatest god."

¹⁶ For further discussions on the term *ntr ꜥ3* see Gardiner-Sethe 1928 p. 11, Garnot 1938 p. 9, Junker 1929-1955 v. II p. 47f., Edel 1944 p. 9, Kees 1956 p. 30f., Zandee 1960 p. 264, Rahamut 1983 p. 49 and Morschauser 1987 pp. 176-7 and 234.

Harkhuf (Urk. I 122.16) indicates that “he will be judged for it by the great god” (*iw.f r wdꜥ hr.s in ntr ꜥ3*). In the First Intermediate Period Appeal of Iti (Turin Suppl. 13114), the deceased indicates that he will be judged together with a transgressor (Rosati 1989 fig. 125):

[Whosoever] shall act against this stela,
I will be judged together with him [concerning it]
by the great god, the lord of heaven.

The phrase *wdꜥ hnꜥ.f* is also found in the Saqqara tombs of Ti (Urk. I 173.14), Hetep-herakhet (Urk. I 51.1), and Mereruka (Urk. I 87.15); it has been discussed by Edel (1944 pp. 9-12), Janssen (1946 p. 58 I Ae), and Mertz (1953 p. 80f.). Rather than acting as a protector in this case, the deceased will be the opponent of the transgressor, pressing suit against him at the tribunal. A further variant appears in the late 12th Dynasty Appeal of Amenyanhreh (Cairo CG 20458), who states in regard to anyone who should damage his stela: “I will be judged together with him in the place in which judgement is made” (Sethe 1928 p. 87 no. 26b). With all the powers of the deceased as an effective and knowledgeable *ꜥh* spirit, it is not expected that the transgressor will stand much of a chance at escaping punishment at the tribunal in the Afterlife.

The connection of the deceased as an *ꜥh* spirit and the protection of the necropolis are nicely summed up in the 12th Dynasty Appeal of Montuhotep (CG 20539) from Abydos (Lange and Schäfer 1908 p. 154):

I am an efficient *ꜥh* spirit, who knows his spell,
I know what is beneficial in the necropolis.
So if he shall mention my good name, I will be his saviour
in the presence of the great god, the lord of heaven, and
in the presence of the great god, the lord of Abydos.

Again the presence of the great god is emphasized here; the epithet lord of Abydos suggesting an interpretation as Osiris.¹⁷ The effective power of the *3h* spirit is indicated as involving knowledge of the appropriate spells. Moreover, there is a nice connection between the *3h* spirit and the knowledge of what is beneficial (*3ht*) in the necropolis, confirming the role of the *3h* spirit as a protector of the necropolis. What is equally clear from the Appeal texts is that there is the potential that the viewer may come to harm, if the deceased does not act as a protector to the viewer.

9.4 Threats to punish transgressors

The Egyptian afterlife as seen in the Appeal texts is not without violence; from the Sixth Dynasty Appeals comes the threat of the deceased to seize any transgressor and treat him like a bird, i.e. to wring his neck.¹⁸ This threat appears in the tomb of Ankhmahor at Saqqara, in four other Saqqara tombs (Hermeru, Kagemni, Nenki, and Nyankhpepy), as well as appearing at Deshasha (Itti), Deir el-Gebrawi (Ibi), and Aswan (Harkhuf). In rare cases the threat continues in the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom Appeals.¹⁹

In most cases the threat of litigation goes hand in hand with the threat of violence.²⁰

Morschauser (1987 p. 237) makes a distinction between breaches of ritual purity as a

¹⁷ Although the lord of heaven could be an epithet of Ra, I think here it is in apposition to lord of Abydos and refers to Osiris.

¹⁸ See Edel 1944 sec. 13, pp. 12-14 for this phrase ("Ich werde sein Genick packen wie das einer Gans"), cf. Callender (1998 p. 161) "peck on the back of the neck like a goose."

¹⁹ The First Intermediate Period stela Cairo CG 1651 from Abydos contains the phrase *tw shi.tw ts.f m 3pd* and from Middle Kingdom Aswan, Heqaib stela no. 1 (Sarenput I) contains the phrase *mn.tw ts.f mi 3pd*. The phraseology of the later periods is different from that of the Sixth Dynasty threats in not having the verb *itt*.

²⁰ The Appeals of Ibi (Deir el-Gebrawi) and Itti (Deshasha) are both quite short and omit the threat of litigation before the tribunal.

“sacral violation” as opposed to cases of theft involving tomb property as a criminal act. Whereas the Appeals of Hermeru, Nenki, and Nyankhpepy do mention stolen property, the other examples of the threat to wring the culprit’s neck do not. Hence, the situation is not one where the punishment always suits the crime. Further, Morschauser (1987 p. 238) suggests that the seizure mentioned in *iw.(i r) itt.f mi 3pd* or similar phrase refers to the arraignment or arrest of the offender, who would then be held liable before the tribunal. In the Appeals of Ankhmahor, Harkhuf, Hermeru, and Kagemni the seizure comes first before the litigation at the tribunal, but in the Appeals of Nenki and Nyankhpepy the litigation before the tribunal comes before the seizure. This does not disprove Morschauser’s suggestion, but it remains questionable especially in light of other evidence of violent retribution by the deceased against those who transgress against their tombs.

Two isolated examples of the deceased threatening violence occur in the Old Kingdom Appeals. In the Appeal of Nekhebu (Urk. I 218. 12-14) is stated:

As for anybody who shall enter therein uncleanly,
in spite of this, he will be held liable by the great god
(and) I will destroy their earthly descendents
(and) their false doors²¹ on earth.

Here the deceased threatens not only to hold a judicial review with the great god (*wḏꜥ in ntr ꜥ3*) for those who enter the tomb in an impure state (*ꜥbw*), but goes so far as to say such an infraction will result in the death of all of one’s children, their children, as well as all their memorials on earth. From Giza mastaba 2100 (Tjetu)²² comes another threat of

²¹ Though *ꜥrwt* usually means “gate” (Wb. I 211.8) or “dwelling, home” (CDME p. 45), Rahamut (1983 p. 50) suggests that in this context “false doors” are meant (cf. Arnold 2003 p. 89). The usual words for “false door” in Egyptian are *rwt* and *r3-pr* (Wiebach-Koepke 2001 p. 499).

violence:

As for anybody who shall seize or take out
a stone (or) a brick from this tomb (of mine),
I will be liable with him at the tribunal of the great god
(and) an end (*phw*) will be made of him on account of it,
so that those who (still) live on earth shall see (it).

The deceased again not only threatens those who dismantle his tomb with a judicial review, but also with death. This death sentence is to be carried out in such a way as to be an example to others not to engage in such activity and is probably to be envisioned as the end result of the litigation process. The same result of the litigation process is implied in the Appeal of Nekhebu, who then goes one step further in threatening a personal retribution that would abolish the funerary cult of all the descendants of the perpetrator. The punishment for the sacral violation against Nekhebu, therefore, exceeds the harsh punishment set out for the criminal activity described in Giza mastaba 2100.

A significant development in the formulation of threats or curses is found in the First Intermediate Period Appeal of It-ibi from Asyut. The text contains one of the longest and most fully developed curse formulae, first against those who neglect the tomb, and secondly against those who deliberately damage the tomb. It-ibi's tomb (Siut III lines 62-64, Edel 1984 fig. 5) contains the following threat:

As for any chief, any son of a man,
any nobleman, or any commoner,
who shall fail to protect this tomb (of mine)
together with its contents,
his god shall not accept his white bread,
he shall not be buried in the West,
and their flesh shall burn
together with that of the criminals,
they having been turned into ones who do not exist.

²² Catalogue entry OK32b. See also Goedicke 1956 p. 28, Morschauser 1987 p. 237, and Morschauser 1991 pp. 154-5.

It-ibi's threat essentially contains the worst punishment that the deceased could inflict on the living, being rejected by the gods, being refused burial in the necropolis, a complete annihilation brought about by the burning of the flesh, and the non-remembrance of the name of the deceased.

From the First Intermediate Period at the Egyptian travertine quarries at Hatnub, graffiti nos. 16 and 19 (Anthes 1928 pls. 16 & 20, pp. 35-42) contain the following threat:

If he shall harm these figures,
it is the gods of the Hare nome
who shall punish him.

Here divine retribution by the local gods is threatened for any damage to the ink graffiti placed on the quarry walls. The punishment is elaborated upon on the Hatnub stela published by Posener (1968 pl. IX):

As for one who harms this image,
he shall not reach home,
he shall not embrace his children, and
he shall not see Egypt again.

Here the opposite of the reward offered in the Hatnub graffiti that the traveller should return home is expressed. This lack of return means that the malefactor will not see either his family/children or his home/Egypt again. In Hatnub graffiti no. 49 (Anthes 1928 pl. 31), the gods' punishment is said to extend even further and to prevent a malefactor's children from succeeding to his offices after his death.

Threats against those who would damage the Appeal texts are less frequent in the Middle Kingdom²³ than the Old Kingdom, though some of the local First Intermediate Period variants continue into the beginning of Dynasty 12. The Hatnub Appeals described above are one such example, and another appears at Asyut, where the tomb of Djefa-hapi from the reign of Sesostri I continues in the tradition established earlier in the tomb of It-ibi. For those who injure the inscriptions in Djefa-hapi's tomb or damage its decoration, both divine and human retribution is promised (Urk. VII 53.13-16):

May they fall to the wrath of Thoth,
the most skilled among the gods.
They belong to the knives of the magistrates,
the servants of the king who are in the law courts.
Their gods will not receive their white bread.

Morschauser (1991 p. 166) suggests that Thoth has here “assumed the status of a major deity.” Being the local deity of Hermopolis, Thoth was appropriate to invoke, both as the patron of scribes, and because he is associated with the administration of justice (*m³t*) and the judgement in the Afterlife. The reference to the malefactor's own deity not accepting his white bread offering also appears in the threat of It-ibi. The use of knives as punishment is also found in a threat against those who should damage an offering table, now in the British Museum (Sethe 1928 p. 87, no. 28a); instead of undergoing a judicial review, the perpetrator is threatened with the knives of Horus who is in strife.²⁴

²³ At Abydos in the late 12th Dynasty/13th Dynasty the Appeal of Amenyanharen (Sethe 1928 p. 87, no. 28b) includes the following threat:

As for any man who shall do damage
against this stela of mine,
I will be judged together with him
in the place in which judgement is held.

This last phrase (*m bw nty wḏꜥ-mḏw im*) is also found in the Appeal of Inti from Deshasha (Urk. I 71. 2).

²⁴ See Kees 1929 p. 107f. for Horus *imy-šntwt*, where he is identified as an Upper Egyptian crocodile deity.

Another threat is found in the autobiography of Khnumhotep II in his Beni Hasan tomb (no.3).²⁵ After a section where Khnumhotep II indicates that he ordered funerary offerings during a long list of festivals, the inscription reads (DeBuck 1948 p. 69 lines 14-15):²⁶

Now as for a *k3*-priest (or) anyone else
who shall disturb it (the tomb),
he shall not exist and
his son shall not exist in his place.

This is not really an Appeal and the threat seems less effective for the fact that non-existence is threatened without any explanation as to how this will be achieved. Non-existence probably refers to no continuation of life in the Afterlife, although Morschauser (1991 p. 167) suggests that non-existence here refers to the loss of civil status and the right to hold office. Khnumhotep II does indicate the seriousness with which he took the continuation of the funerary rites at his tomb, focussing on the mortuary priest as the one mainly responsible for carrying out the appropriate rites. The prevention of a son succeeding to the office of his father is the negation of a popular enticement found in many Middle and New Kingdom Appeals (see section 9.5 of this study).

Morschauser (1991 p. 176) notes that threat-formulae are rare in the 18th Dynasty and Assmann (1992 p. 60) indicates that imprecation formulae disappear from tombs in the New Kingdom, but the Appeal texts are something of an exception in this regard. In Theban tomb 39 (Davies 1922 pl. 20), Puyemre reproduces the injunction of Djefa-hapi of Asyut against those who would harm his inscriptions or damage the figures; he threatens both divine and human retribution. From the ceiling of Theban tomb 71 (Urk. IV 401.16-402.2),

²⁵ Lloyd 1992 pp. 21-36, Breasted 1906 I pp. 279-89 and Newberry 1893 pp. 58-66.

²⁶ This text is found in Newberry 1893 pl. 25 lines 96-99. On the malediction see Morschauser 1991 p. 167 and Willems 1990 p. 38.

Senenmut makes the following warning:

As for any man who shall do harm to my mummy,
he will not follow the king of his time,
he will not be buried in the western necropolis
(and) his lifetime on earth will not continue.

Here the agency of the punishment is not specified. The concern is with the actual burial rather than with the tomb decoration, and the punishment is the loss of royal office and the threat of not having a proper burial, so that one's *bai* can continue on earth.²⁷ Loss of office is also specified in the threat of the 18th Dynasty scribe statue Ashmolean 1913.163

(Amenhotep) against those who would interfere with his offerings (Urk. IV 1800.5-6); further punishment is that the perpetrator's *k3* will be removed from him (*wnn k3.f m rwtj r.f*), again preventing a successful Afterlife and causing that his household shall collapse (*pr.f (r) sbi(t) n t3*). The inscription from Boston 1972.651 (Tjawy) contains an injunction that anyone attempting to appropriate his tomb will not be buried in the west (Simpson 1973 p. 72),²⁸ so the threat against a successful Afterlife may have been a standard imprecation during the 18th Dynasty.

The threats on the aforementioned Memphite scribe statue Ashmolean 1913.163 (Amenhotep) and relief of Tjawy (Boston 1972.651) both direct divine retribution against transgressors, and this is common among the threats found in the Ramesside Period as well. Morschauser (1991 pp. 182-191) details how threat formulae are used in royal decrees of the Ramesside Period to assure compliance and how the Ramesside Period brought a more direct intervention of the divine into the everyday world of the Egyptians. Within this

²⁷ Morschauser 1992 p. 177 suggests that the threat to the "lifetime on earth" is basically a death threat.

²⁸ The Boston 1972.651 text elaborates that the transgressor will not descend in the *nšm* barque and that he will be abandoned by the funerary deities Khentyamentiwy and Onnophris.

context, we see a return to the threat of divine judgement, as previously attested in the Old Kingdom Appeals. For example, the 19th Dynasty stela Louvre C108 (Neferrenpet) contains the following threat (Bakry 1969 p. 237):

As for any people who shall disturb this stela,
together with the tomb that I have made,
may he stand before Thoth, but not be judged true.

Thoth is also invoked as an opponent, even to death, on Papyri d'Orbiney (LES 29.12-13) and Sallier IV (LEM 97.13-14). A Ramesside Appeal on the cliffs above Deir el-Bahri (Marciniak 1981 p. 284) also contains a threat to anyone who should damage the inscription that the perpetrator be thirsty (*ibi*) and cut down (*šꜥd*). Other Ramesside texts threaten death to possible transgressors by hunger and thirst, such as the threat on statue Cairo CG 42190 of the High Priest Herihor (Lefèbvre 1926 p. 65) and on the inscription of Penniut from Aniba (Morschauser 1991 pp. 192-3).

9.5 Benefits provided to one's children

The concern with the success of one's children seen in the Beni Hasan tomb of Khnumhotep II and in the 12th Dynasty graffiti from Hatnub is also evident in many other Appeal texts. The explicit promise that one will be able to bequeath one's offices to one's children (*swꜣd.tn iꜣwt.tn n hrdw.tn*) is one of the most popular expressions in the Appeal texts of the Middle and New Kingdoms. But concern for the success of one's children can be traced back earlier in some Appeals from the First Intermediate Period. On stela MMA 12.183.8 (Fischer 1968 fig. 42), Neferyu says that he acted so that he might endure with his children (*mn m hrdw.i*). It-ibi from Asyut (Edel 1984 fig. 7) threatens malefactors with the expulsion of their children from their tombs (*nš.tw hrdw.fm isw.sn*). Segersenti in the Khor Dehmit

graffito (Roeder 1911 pl. 109a) offers the incentive “as you desire that your houses be continued by your grandchildren” (*mr.tn grg prywt.tn hr msw nyw msw.tn*). So the success of one’s descendants and the continuation of one’s lineage was part of the motivation behind the Appeals before the establishment of the standard phrase dealing with bequeathing one’s offices to one’s children.

The common incentive “may you pass on your offices to your children” (*sw3d.tn i3wt.tn n hrdw.tn*) appears first in the 12th Dynasty. At Haraga near the Fayum, this phrase appears on both the stela of Nebipu from tomb 140 and on stela of Sepi (Copenhagen AEIN 1539), which are not closely dated, but which could date as early as the reign of Sesostri III. Other Middle Kingdom examples from the north include the Iti statue pedestal from Dahshur (Fakhry 1961 p. 42) and the stela of Neferher (CG 20829) from Saqqara. It is quite possible then that the formula started in the region of *It-t3wy*, the Twelfth Dynasty administrative centre in the vicinity of Lisht.²⁹ An early variant with a *sdm.ty.fy* form appears on Sehel graffito 76 from the reign of Sesostri III; this Appeal could still be a representative of the central administration, as the graffito was written in the name of the Chamberlain and Controller of Works Antef. The phrase is one of a series of *sdm.ty.fy* forms describing the pure ones and scribes of the local temple in Elephantine; specifically it reads “who shall bequeath (his office) to his son” (*sw3d.t(y).fy n s3.f*). The word for office is understood and it was specifically to a son, rather to children in general that the office is bequeathed.

²⁹ On *It-t3wy* see Shaw and Nicholson 1995 p. 186 and Simpson 1963a.

The wish to pass on one's offices appears on several late Middle Kingdom stelae from Abydos.³⁰ Variations include stela BM 101 of Nebipusenwosret (Sethe 1928 p. 89 (i) lines 18-19) where, after the standard *sw3d.tn i3wt.tn n hrdw.tn*, the wish is continued with "may your children exist established in your positions (and) in your offices for eternity (*wnn msw.tn mn(w) hr nswt.tn m i3wt.tn n(y)t dt*). This makes more explicit the ideal of one's descendants continuing to function in the same way as the deceased forever. Stela CG 20093 (Simpson 1974 pl. 67) contains a request beginning with "(As) you desire to endure upon earth, to bequeath your offices (and) your homes to your children ..." (*mrr.tn w3h.tn tp t3 sw3d.tn i3wt.tn prw.tn n hrdw.tn*). Again one can see that though the standard phrase mentions just offices, something more encompassing is meant; it is as if the ideal was for each family to maintain its position as a local dynasty. The wish to endure on earth (*w3h tpy-t3*) appears on a number of other Abydene Middle Kingdom stelae without the added wish that one's offices be bequeathed to one's children.³¹ The idea of enduring on earth is the same concept, in that one would endure through one's descendants.

Another Twelfth Dynasty variant, expressing the same sentiments with different vocabulary, is the wish that one's children remain or stand in one's place or stead (*mn/hc hrdw.tn hr nswt.tn*). The verb *mn* "to remain, endure, or be established" is used in stela CG 20538 (Sehetepibre), whereas the verb *hc* "to stand, remain or stand erect" is used in stela CG 20748 (Ramenyankh). On stela Tübingen 458 (Sobekhotep) the phrase "may you remain in your positions" (*mn.tn hr nswt.tn*) is placed right before the wish that "you bequeath your

³⁰ Abydene stelae Berlin 7311 (Rehwankh), CG 20540 (Burekhef), Stuttgart 10 (Samenkh) and Tübingen 458 (Sobekhotep) contain the standard formula (*sw3d.tn i3wt.tn n hrdw.tn*)

³¹ As the object of *mr* "to wish," *w3h tpy-t3* appears on stelae CG 20539 (Montuhotep, MK.31a), CG 20030 (Samenkh, MK.55) and CG 20518 (Khnumnakht, MK. 51), where the wish is to endure specifically in Abydos (*mr.tw w3h m 3bdw*).

offices to your children.”³² Again the juxtaposition suggests that these two phrases mean essentially the same thing; therefore, “you remaining in your positions” is extended to one’s family and descendants, as well as covering one’s own career. On stela CG 20539 (Simpson 1074 pl. 67) the wish to endure on earth (*w3h tpy-t3*) is followed by the non-verbal wish “(with) your children in your positions” (*hrdw.tn hr nswt.tn*). The word used for “position” in these texts is *nst*, literally “seat or throne,” again reinforcing the idea of a family dynasty.

A unique passage from the Appeal of Montuweser (Sethe 1928 p. 80) indicates the importance of children as the generation of the future:

Now as for all people
who shall hear (the recitation of) this offering stone,
(of mine) and who are among the living!
They will say “it is true.”
Their children will say to (their) children
“it is true, there is no falsehood therein.”

This passage again emphasizes the oral nature of the Appeal texts, which could be read out to children by their elders, and the children would remember and pass on the sentiments to the next generation. In the early 12th Dynasty there are Appeals that indicate a desire for one’s children to live³³ and to be healthy.³⁴

From the Second Intermediate Period the promise that one can pass on offices to one’s children appears on Dendera stela Moscow 4156 (Ameni, SIP.3), Edfu stela Cairo JE 38917 (Khonsuemwaset, SIP.7), Edfu stela JE 43362 (Yuf, SIP.1), and Karnak stela JE 36343

³² This phrase appears again on the Second Intermediate Period stela of Prince Ameni (Moscow 4156).

³³ Abydene stela Leiden V6 (Intef) with phrase *mrrw nh msw.sn*.

³⁴ See Abydene stelae Cairo CG 20539 (Montuhotep), CG 20538 (Sehetepibre) and CG 20518 (Khnumnakht) with the phrase *snb.hr hrdw.tn* or variant.

(Tetiemre, SIP.8), making this one of the most common phrases from the Appeals of the period. The phrase “may you pass on your offices to your children” (*sw3d.tn i3wt.tn n hrdw.tn*) continues to be popular in the 18th Dynasty; it appears in Theban tombs³⁵ and temples³⁶ and also at el-Kab,³⁷ Hierakonpolis,³⁸ and Akhmim.³⁹ An 18th Dynasty variant from Theban tomb 11 (*Urk.* IV 444.2-3) includes a wish that one’s heirs endure (*mn iwꜥw.tn*) “after their deaths on earth” (*m-ht hpwt.tn tp i3*), confirming the connection between enduring on earth and passing on one’s position to one’s children. In another 18th Dynasty variant from the Karnak statue of Userhat (*JE* 91715, Barguet and Leclant 1954 pl. 117), the wish is that one’s offices be passed on from son to son (*m s3 n s3*).⁴⁰ From the 19th Dynasty, Roma-Roy inscribed on the 8th Pylon at Karnak (*KRI* IV 289.4-5) the wish that you (plural) bequeath to your children, one son (to another) one in his house (*sw3d.tn n msw.tn wꜥ s3 wꜥ m pr.f*). The word for children in other 19th Dynasty Appeals, such as those of Didia (stela Louvre C50, stela BM 706 and statue CG 42122), is also *msw*, whereas before this time *hrdw* was used. Whereas the Second Intermediate Period and 18th Dynasty are the times of greatest popularity of the phrase “may you pass on your offices to your children” (*sw3d.tn i3wt.tn n hrdw.tn*), this standard phrase or formula does not appear in the Ramesside Period Appeals; the variant form with *msw* from this period is not particularly frequent.

³⁵ Theban tombs nos. 79 (Menkheperresoneb), 81 (Ineni), 100 (Rekhmire), 104 (Djehutynefer), 127 (Senemiah), 131 (stela Grenoble 1954), and 155 (stela Louvre C26).

³⁶ Deir el-Bahri statue London UC 14351 (Djehuty), Karnak statue BM 1513 (Senenmut), Karnak statue CG 42118 (Amenuser), Karnak statue Louvre A.127 (User), Karnak statue *JE* 59636 (Ahmose), and Medamud statue Louvre E.12985 (Menmesu).

³⁷ El-Kab tomb no. 3 of Pahery (*Urk.* IV 121.8).

³⁸ Hierakonpolis tomb of Djehuty (*Urk.* IV 133.12).

³⁹ Stela Louvre C55 (Nakhtmin).

⁴⁰ “From son to son” is also used in legal texts (Mrsich 1975 col. 1241), such as the 17th Dynasty Koptos decree (Sethe 1928 p. 98)

9.6 Rewards from the king and the gods

Power to reward and provide benefits in Egyptian society was largely in the hands of the king and the gods, so it is no surprise that the prospect of being loved (*mr*) or favoured (*hs*) by deities or the king appears frequently as a motivation in the Appeal texts. In the Old and Middle Kingdoms many of the Appeals use a combination of royal and divine favour as a motivating force. These will be discussed here, first together, and then the separate influences of the favour of the king and the favour of the gods will be examined in turn.

The king and a generic deity are juxtaposed several times in the Sixth Dynasty Appeals with similar vocabulary, but without the frequency of a true formula. In the Appeal of Pepiankh from Meir (Urk. I 223.18), an oath (cf. Wilson 1948 p. 134) connects both the king (*ny-swt*) and the generic deity (*ntr*); the passage reads “As the king and the god before whom you are live for you.” In his Appeal from Giza (Urk. I 218.16-17), Nekhebu calls upon all those who live on earth not to enter his tomb in an impure state and to say the invocation offering “if you want the king to favour (*hs*) you (or) to be revered (*im3h*) by the great god;” again the terminology used is *ny-swt* and *ntr*.

Many of the Old Kingdom appeal texts indicate the important position of the king in society and as a mechanism for achieving status and rewards during one’s lifetime.

Officials such as Pehenwikai (Urk. I 49.7) seek to establish their own merit among visitors to their tombs by indicating that they were honoured by the king (*im3h hr n(y)-swt*), or by the king and god (Pepiankh heri-ib, Urk. I 224.13). Other Old Kingdom

Appeal texts indicate that proper behavior will be rewarded by the king; for example, Meryranefer (Urk. I 255.10-11) states that those who speak the offertory formula for him will be beloved of the king (*mrrw n(y)-swt*). More often the king is evoked along with another deity, making an even stronger case. Nekhebu calls upon all those who live on earth not to enter his tomb in an impure state and to say the invocation offering “if you want the king to favour (*hs*) you (or) to be revered by the great god.” Khentika (Urk. I 205.12-13) makes a similar request using the same key words (*mry*, *hs*, *ny-swt*, and *ntr*) of the embalmers and lector priests who conduct his funeral. As a reward for saying the offertory prayer, Djaou of Deir el-Gebrawi (Urk. I 147.10-11) promises the love of the king (*mrrw ny-swt*) and the favour of their local god (*hssw ntr.sn niwty*) to visitors. In the same vein, Tjetu of Giza mastaba 2100 (Simposn 1980 pl. 17) also indicates that the one who repeats the offertory prayer for him will be beloved (*mrrw*), not only of the king (*ny-swt*) and their (local) god (*ntr.sn*), but of Osiris and Anubis as well.

The king and the god Anubis are called upon in a number of the Old Kingdom Appeals. Anubis as the god of embalming and of the necropolis is an appropriate protector of Old Kingdom tombs. Being beloved of the king and the god Anubis (*mrr ny-swt pw Inpw tpy dw.f*) is promised as a reward by Remenuka (Hassan 1936 fig. 206) for proper behaviour in not damaging the tomb. Khui (Drioton 1943 p. 503) and Kaiherptah (Urk. I 186.14) use very similar phrases with the same key words (*mrrw*, *ny-swt* and *Inpw*) as a reward for the lector priest to perform the proper rituals.⁴¹

⁴¹ The same phrase is restored in the Appeal of Hetepeniptah (Urk. I 187.4).

In the Middle Kingdom, the king is no longer paired individually with Anubis, but at Abydos is noted as beloved (*mrr*) of Anubis and Wepwawet on stela CG 20683 (Iykhernofret) and with Anubis and Khentyamentiyu on stela CG 20518 (Khnumnakht). The king is also paired with both the old (Khentyamentiyu) and new (Osiris) deities of Abydos. The offering table of Senwosret in the British Museum (Sethe 1928 p. 87 no. 28a) reads “as the king loves you (and) as Khentyamentiyu favours you” (*mrr tn ny-swt hs tn hnty-[imntyw]*); stela CG 20017 of Senetites (Simpson 1974 pl. 20) reads “beloved of the king and Osiris Khentyamentiyu” (*mry ny-swt Wsir hnty-imntyw*).

During the Middle Kingdom the king frequently is juxtaposed with the generic deity on the Abydene stelae. Ptahwer on Abydos stela CG 20061 (Sethe 1928 p. 87 no. 28e) indicates that any who recite the offertory prayer for him will be “beloved of his local god and of the reigning king” (*mrr ntr.f niwty ny-swt imy h3w.f*). Amenyankhren on Abydos stela CG 20458 (Sethe 1928 p. 87 no. 28b) indicates “as your king loves (*mrr*) you (and) as your gods favour (*hs*) you, so will you attain revered status (*im3h*) among the revered.” Sehetepibre on Abydos stela CG 20538 (Sethe 1928 p. 69 lines 3-4) addresses “those whom the king loves and those whom his local god loves.” In these examples the king is associated with love (*mrr*) and the gods with favour (*hs*), but the opposite is also true, as in Khartoum stela 2646 of Nebipu from Semna (Dunham & Janssen 1960 p. 61):

may you live for your gods (*ntrw.tn*)
 may you be in the king’s favour (*hswt ny-swt*)
 passing to (the state of being) a revered one (*im3h*)

As in the Old Kingdom, the same vocabulary (*mr*, *ny-swt*, *hs*, *ntr*) is used, but there is no standard formula as to how they are combined. After the Middle Kingdom, the

juxtaposition of the king and generic deity no longer appears in the Appeal texts, but the king and local gods are evoked separately in the New Kingdom, just as they were in the Old and Middle Kingdoms.

9.6.1 Royal favour

Royal favour as a motivating force in the Appeal texts varies according to the political situation of the time. In times of strong central government, the king functioned as the centre of the State's power and royal favour was an important mechanism for officials to achieve status and high office. The paramount position of the king in Egyptian society is alluded to in the Old Kingdom Appeals, the Middle Kingdom Appeals, and in those from the 18th Dynasty. In the First Intermediate Period, Second Intermediate Period, and in the later Ramesside Period, times of weaker central government control, the role of the king as a motivating force in the Appeal texts is much diminished.

The strongest position of the king in the Appeal texts is found during the Old Kingdom. Old Kingdom officials, such as Pehenwikai (Urk. I 49.7) and Hetepherakhet (Urk. I 51.2), seek to establish their own merit among visitors to their tombs by indicating that they were honoured by the king (*im3h hr ny-swt*), whose support was essential in the construction of their tombs. Officials such as Khentika (Urk. I 205.12) and Nekhebu (Urk. I 217.16) ask visitors to their tombs if they want the king to favour him (*in iw mry.n.tn hs tn n(y)-swt*), and if so, to prove it by closing the sarcophagus properly (Khentika) or making invocation offerings (Nekhebu). Other Old Kingdom Appeal texts indicate that proper behaviour will be rewarded by the king; for example, Meryranefer

(Urk. I 255.10-11) states that those who speak the offertory formula for him, will be beloved of the king (*mrrw n(y)-swt*).

Most of the Old Kingdom Appeals do not go into the specifics of royal favour, either for the monument's owner or for the viewer, but a few exceptional cases indicate the measure and significance of royal favour. For example, Metjetjy (Kaplony 1968 pl. III) includes a direct appeal to visitors to be diligent in praising the king and following royal commands while alive:

[O you living ones] who are upon earth,
praise the king (as long as) you live.
Be vigilant toward his work!
Be protective toward what he orders!
Do what he desires!

Clearly royal officials of the Old Kingdom would realize that their career advancement related directly to the king's favour. The rewards of royal service include appointment to high office as indicated by the Appeal of Djaou from Abydos (Urk. I 119.11), who indicates his status to future visitors with the phrase "because you see my offices came from the king." Merykhufu (Fakhry 1935 p. 21) indicates that the king, his lord, provided the tomb for him and Hetepherakhet (Urk. I 51. 2-3) indicates that the king provided him with the burial equipment or coffin (*ḥrs*). By providing recognizably good advice to officials, the tomb owner would gain the sympathy and understanding of the tomb visitor, who would thus be more likely to invoke offerings for the deceased.

The situation in terms of royal favour as a motivating force changes markedly in First Intermediate Period; the Appeal texts support Assmann's (2002 pp. 93-4) general assertion that the Egyptian kingship basically disappears from FIP tomb inscriptions.

For example, the king is only mentioned once in Ankhtyfy's tomb in Mo'alla (Seidlmayer 2000 p. 131) and even in the long and involved Appeal from the tomb of It-ibi at Asyut, nowhere is the king or centralized state called upon for protection.

With the advent of Dynasty 12 and a strong central government in Egypt again, the Appeal texts again reflect the importance of the king and royal favour in Egyptian society. As with the Old Kingdom Appeals, officials in the Middle Kingdom indicate that they have been honoured (*im3h*, cf. Khuenbik on Abydos stela BM 584) or beloved (*mr*, cf. Senetites on Abydos stela CG 20016) by the king.⁴² The favour (*hs*) of the king (*ny-swt*) continues to be mentioned in Middle Kingdom Appeals, but as variations on a theme rather than in standard formulae. On the Abydos stela of Burekhef (CG 20540) and on the Haraga stela of Nebipu (Engelbach 1923 pl. LXXII), the king's favour (*hst ny-swt*) is invoked in an assurance that offices will be passed on to one's children. In a similar manner, on the Abydos stela of Nebipusenwosret (BM 101), the favour of your sovereign (*hswt ity.tn*) is called for along with the rejuvenation of the king (*hwn ny-swt*). On the Dahshur statue base of Iti (Fakhry 1961 p. 42), the entreaty is made that the king of your time (*ny-swt rk.tn*) should favour (*hs*) you.⁴³ On Semna stela Khartoum 2646 (Dunham and Janssen 1960 p. 61), the viewer is enjoined "to be in the king's favour, passing to (the state of being) an honoured one" (*wnn.tn hr hswt ny-swt sbit r im3h*).

⁴² In addition to *ny-swt*, these epithets or phrases are also sometimes found with *nb.f* "his lord," also referring to the king, cf. Doxey 1998 p. 129. The Aswan statue of Senebbu (Heqaib no. 49) has the epithet "beloved of his lord because he is of good character" (*mrrw nb.f hr n.f kd*); Doxey (1998 p. 309) notes no other Middle Kingdom examples of this phrase. The Abydos stela of Sa-Satet (Basel no. III 5002) indicates that its owner is honoured or venerated by his lord (*im3hy nb.f*).

⁴³ The king of one's time (*ny-swt rk.tn*) is also called upon to favour the visitor in the 18th Dynasty Appeals of statue Brooklyn 37.30 (Djehuty), statue Florence 1790 (Ptahmose), and Theban tomb 84 (Imau-nedjeh). In the 19th Dynasty Appeal of statue JE 89046 (Pahemnetjer) the king of one's time (*ny-swt ny h3w.tn*) is called upon to favour the visitor.

Though the general picture is similar to that found in Old Kingdom Appeals, some new phrases do appear in connection with the king in Middle Kingdom Appeals. For example, the wish “may you rejoice over your king” appears in the Abydos stela of Senetites (CG 20017) and in slightly altered form (“may you rejoice in the king forever”) in the Abydos stela of Sehetepibre (CG 20538).⁴⁴ The cult of the deified King Sneferu of Dynasty Four is referred to in several Middle Kingdom Appeals, both from Dahshur (Fakhry 1961 figs. 290 & 295) where the king was presumably buried, and from the Sinai,⁴⁵ an area in which Sneferu’s exploits were commemorated by rock cut reliefs.

The situation with references to the king in the Middle Kingdom Appeal texts is similar to that described by Doxey (1998 pp. 80-151) in connection with Middle Kingdom epithets. References to the king and royal power tend to occur in contexts where the participants owe their career and success to the State and the Monarchy. They do not appear in the Hatnub quarry texts, where most of the quarry expeditions were sent out by local rulers, but do appear in the Sinai where expeditions were sent out by the king and were staffed by officials from the Treasury and central administration (Leprohon 1980 pp. 217-8). The provincial tombs of the early Middle Kingdom reflect the continuation of the First Intermediate Period in terms of the relative independence of the local elite at the time (Doxey 1998 p. 88). Even at Abydos, which was a national religious centre during the Middle Kingdom, the percentage of Appeals mentioning the king during the Middle Kingdom is only about twenty percent (10 out of 48 =21%). The percentage of Appeals mentioning the king is

⁴⁴ The 18th Dynasty Appeal of statue Florence 1790 (Ptahmose) entreats the visitor to rejoice over the sovereign, using the same verb (*nḏm-ib*) as these Middle Kingdom Appeals.

⁴⁵ Sinai inscription 12 (Gardiner & Peet 1952 pl. XII), and Sinai inscription 519 (Gardiner & Peet 1952 pl. XCIV). For discussion of these sources see Wildung 1969, for Dahshur pp. 119-128 and for the Sinai pp. 128-137.

higher in the later 12th and 13th Dynasties (6 out of 22 = 27%) than it was during the early 12th Dynasty (4 out of 26 = 15%).

Appeals mentioning the king continue in the 18th Dynasty at about the same rate as in the Middle Kingdom with 24% of the Appeals (12 of 50) mentioning the king as a motivating factor. In some Appeals the traditional references to the love and favour of the king are found, as in the Appeal from Theban tomb 57 (Khaemhat, Urk. IV 1845.15) which reads “may the king of Egypt favour and love you” (*hs mr [t]n ny-swt-bity*). New 18th Dynasty variations on the theme include the entreaty “may the *k3* of *Ma^catkare* (Hatshepsut) love you” from Theban tomb 11 (Djehuty, Urk. IV 439.15) and from Theban tomb 100 (Rekhmire, Urk. IV 1084.10) “may the reigning king be pleased with you” (*ny-swt [imy-h3]w.f [htpw n].tn*). In one of the infrequent Ramesside mentions of the king on the Memphite statue of Huy (KRI III p. 169), he indicates that he was pleasing to His Majesty, but uses *mnh-ib*. The 19th Dynasty Appeal of stela Louvre C95 (KRI III p. 25) emphasizes the royal service of the deceased (Khetef), saying of the king “I proclaim his name (and) glorify power in his presence, I (in turn) being favoured.”

Perhaps not surprisingly, the only New Kingdom Appeals in which the role of the king is really prominent are those from the reign of Akhenaten. Though the religious orientation of Egypt was drastically changed in Akhenaten’s reign, Appeals were still placed in the private tombs of the period. The Appeals from Akhetaten (Tell el-Amarna) sometimes read like encomiums of the king, such as that from Amarna tomb no. 25 of Ay (Sandman 1938 pp. 99-100):

Praise the king, the sole one like the Aten;
 there is no other who is great for him.
 May he give you a lifetime of joy, (and)
 food as well as fowl out of what he gives.

The Amarna Appeals make it clear that rewards come directly from the king and that the Aten is to be adored with praises of the king; Ay calls upon visitors to his tomb to make adoration to the Aten by saying “Let the ruler be healthy” (Sandman 1938 p. 99 line 4). The Egyptian word *ḥkꜣ* is used for the king here, as it is in the Appeal of Panehsy where he addresses the tomb visitor with the words “let me relate to you the good deeds that (the) ruler did for me” (Sandman 1938 p. 25 lines 6-7 and on the ceiling, cf. Davies 1903 v. II pl. 21 line 3). The absolute focus on the king, bordering on sycophancy, is a distinctive feature of the Amarna Period Appeals.

9.6.2 Favour of the gods

The favour of the gods is often offered as a motivating force in the Appeal texts, especially in the Middle and New Kingdoms. Though individual gods are invoked, to a large extent it is generic deities or one’s local deities that are referred to in the Appeal texts. This makes good sense if deities in Egypt were felt to have local areas for which they were especially responsible⁴⁶ and if visitors to the area of the Appeal text were expected to come from a variety of different places. Thus, it would be the different deities of their various home localities that would provide the rewards to visitors who made prayers or offerings in response to the Appeal texts. An early example of the Appeal to local deities appears in the Dynasty Six Deir el-Gebrawi tomb of Djaou (Urk. I 147.11) in the phrase “whom their local

⁴⁶ Hornung (1982 pp. 223-6) gives a critical overview of this notion of local deities. It is a useful concept, but at the same time it has not been possible to establish an “original home” for every deity, such as Horus, Osiris, and Seth.

god praises” (*hssw ntr.sn niwty*). From the First Intermediate Period Dendera tomb of Meni (Urk. I 268.13) comes the phrase “desire that you should be in the following of your local god” (*mrr.tn wnn.tn m šms ny ntr.tn niwty*). From the Middle Kingdom, Nebipusenwosret (Sethe 1928 p. 89 (i) line 20) addresses the priesthood at Abydos to say that “the great god has decreed that you will exist on earth under his favour” (*iw wd.n ntr ʿ3 wnn.tn tp t3 hr hswt.f*). From the New Kingdom at Karnak, Senenmut calls upon the favour of both the viewer’s august god (*ntr.tn šps* on statue BM 1513) and the great goddess (*ntrt.tn ʿ3t* on statue CG 579).

Named deities in the Appeals are usually the local deities of the area where the Appeal was located; they appear as individual variants from the places and time periods from which the largest number of Appeals have been preserved. From the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom, the local deities of Abydos, including Wepwawet and Khentyamentiuyu are found in a number of Appeals.⁴⁷ As well, Onuris is invoked on Naga ed-Deir stela LMA 6-1073 (Pai).⁴⁸ From the 18th Dynasty Abydene Appeal of stela CG 34018 (Urk. IV 1495.17) comes the entreaty “may Osiris ruler of eternity favour and love you” (*hs tn mr tn Wsir hk3 dt*). From Aswan come Appeals offering the favour of the deified Heqaib⁴⁹ and Satet, mistress of Elephantine.⁵⁰ The favour of Amun-Re is invoked in New Kingdom Appeals from Karnak and the Theban area.⁵¹ The favour of the crocodile god Sobek is

⁴⁷ Both deities appear in the Dynasty Eleven stela Turin 1447 (Meru). Wepwawet (*mr tn Wp-w3wt*) appears on the 12th Dynasty stela CG 20497 (Amenemhat) and the favour (*hs*) of Khentyamentiuyu is invoked on the early 12th Dynasty stelae CG 20567 (Qay), CG 20046 (Sasobek) and MMA 12.184 (Montuweser).

⁴⁸ “As you want Onuris, Lord of This, to favour you (*mrr.tn hs tn In-hrt nb tn*).

⁴⁹ Inscriptions no. 20 (Heqaib) and 88 (Anonymous) from the Elephantine sanctuary contain the phrase “as you desire the hereditary noble Heqaib to favour you” (*mr.tn hss tn iry-pʿt Hk3-ib*).

⁵⁰ Inscription 46 of Mutwer from the Elephantine sanctuary.

⁵¹ See early 18th Dynasty Karnak stelae CG 42042 (Tetiemre) and CG 42123 (Djehuty), as well as the 19th Dynasty Deir el-Bahri statues of Paser, Philadelphia UM E.534 and CG 561.

invoked in the 18th Dynasty Appeal of stela Marseille 207 (Sobekhotep) from the Fayum and at Memphis, the favour of Ptah fair-of-face is called upon in the 18th Dynasty stela Florence 1790 (Ptahmose).⁵²

Formulaic expressions use the love (*mr*) and favour (*hs*) of the gods as motivating forces in the Appeals. The compound expression using the subjunctive “those who desire that their (local) god(s) should favour them” is first known from the Appeal of Edfu stela CG 43371 (Urk. I 252.3) in Dynasty Six (*mrrw hs sn ntr.sn*) and is restored on a FIP stela from Dendera (JE 38551, Fischer 1968 fig. 40). With minor variations, this formula appears at least six times on Middle Kingdom stelae from Abydos⁵³ and on stelae from other sites, such as Aswan, Qaw el-Kebir, and Sinai.⁵⁴ Even more popular is the formula “may all your (local) gods favour you” (*hsy tn ntrw nbw niwtwyw.tn*); this is found many times in the Middle Kingdom at Abydos⁵⁵ and in the 18th Dynasty at Thebes.⁵⁶ Isolated examples also appear at other sites,⁵⁷ and there is even one example from the 19th Dynasty.⁵⁸ There is a counterpart phrase using love (*mr*) instead of favour (*hs*); the expression “as you love your (local) gods” (*mrr.tn ntrw.tn*) appears in Middle Kingdom inscriptions from Aswan⁵⁹ and

⁵² As R.J. Leprohon has pointed out (personal communication), it is probably no coincidence that each man's name in these examples is compounded with the deity invoked. So in addition to being “local” deities, these were likely deities with great personal significance to these individuals.

⁵³ Stela Stuttgart 10 (Samenkh), stela CG 20093 (Seneb), stela Berlin 7311 (Rehw-ankh), stela Tübingen 458 (Sobekhotep), stela BM 579 (Userwer), and stela CG 20164 (Wahysobek).

⁵⁴ From Aswan, Elephantine statue no. 52 referring to Heqaib; from Qaw el-Kebir stela Turin 1547 of Wahka I; and from the Sinai, inscription 118 (Qemau).

⁵⁵ Stela Oxford 1113 (Ankhren), stela Leiden V6 (Intef), stela CG 20538 (Sehetepibre), stela Tübingen 458 (Sobekhotep), stela BM 101 (Nebipusenwosret), and stela Hermitage 1081 (Nenkhemsan).

⁵⁶ Theban tombs 11 (Djehuty), 79 (Menkheperresoneb), 100 (Rekhmire), 104 (Djehutynefer), and 155 (stela Louvre C26 of Intef), as well as Karnak statue CG 583 (Amenhotep son of Hapu).

⁵⁷ From the Middle Kingdom on Sinai inscription 53 (Sobekhorhab). From the 18th Dynasty on stela Louvre C55 (Nakhtmin) from Akhmim.

⁵⁸ Statue CG 42122 (Didia).

⁵⁹ From Qubbet el-Hawa tomb 36 (Sarenpet) and from Elephantine sanctuary inscription 67 (Sanofret).

the Sinai.⁶⁰ Finally, it is common to combine both love (*mr*) and favour (*hs*) in the expression “may your (local) gods favour you and love you (*hs tn mry tn ntrw.tn*) in the 18th Dynasty.”⁶¹

9.7 Special situations

Whereas, in general, the type of motivation in an Appeal does not directly relate to the specific situation in which the Appeal was written, in two or possibly three situations, the motivation is directly tied to the specific situation of the Appeal. This is the case for expedition Appeals from quarry or mining sites, such as Hatnub and the Sinai, which offer a safe trip home in return for an offertory prayer, and is the case of New Kingdom temple statues that offer to transmit prayers or petitions to the deity of the temple. Some Ramesside Period statues also contain Appeals that offer a good rest in the tomb for those who make the obligatory offering prayer.

The prime motivation found in the expedition Appeals is a safe journey back to Egypt. At Hatnub during the First Intermediate Period, this wish is expressed with the phrase *ph pr.f snb(w)* “to reach his house safely.”⁶² The two Dynasty Twelve Hatnub stelae, however, use a different phrase “to reach (home) safely” (*ph m htp*), with the same meaning. It is this later “reach home safely” phrase (*ph m htp*) that is used in most of the Sinai Appeals.⁶³ In Sinai inscription 510 (Senwosret), a future sense is given with a *sdm.ty.fy* form, “he who shall

⁶⁰ Inscriptions no. 409 (stela Harvard 8634) of Seninen from Serabit el-Khadim and no. 511 of Mereru from Rod el-Air.

⁶¹ Stela JE 59636 (Prince Ahmose), statue Louvre A127 (User), statue CG 42118 (Amenuser), stela Grenoble 1954 (User from TT131), and Edfu stela CG 43362 (Yuf) without *niwtyw*. Stela CG 43003 (Kares) and stela Leiden V38 (Neferu) with *niwtyw*.

⁶² This phrase (*ph pr.f snbw*) appears in Hatnub graffiti nos. 12, 16, 17, 20, 22, 25, 28, and 32.

⁶³ This phrase (*ph m htp*) appears in Sinai inscriptions nos. 28 (Sobekhotep), 36 (Hori & Ptahwer), 40 (Sopdunakhte), 53 (Sobekherheb), and 511 (Ankhu & Mereru).

reach his house in safety” (*ph.t(y).f(y) pr.f m htp*). Another variant with the same meaning appears in Sinai 118 (Qemau); this variant is *s3h t3wy n htp* or “reach the two lands safely.” Outside of the expedition context, the Appeal of Abydos stela Tübingen 458 (Sobekhotep) also offers safe passage home (*ph.tn m htp*) in a passage that reads “may you reach (home) safely, that you may relate your expeditions to your women” (Sethe 1928 no. 28g, p. 88 lines 22-23). Here is recognition that officials who had led royal expeditions would likely be among the visitors to Abydos who would see the stelae there.

Since access to the interior of temples was restricted mainly to high level priests (*hmw-ntr*), statues placed in the outer precincts of temples could take on the function of transferring people’s requests to the deity inside the temple. The offer to do this appears as a motivating factor in a few New Kingdom Appeals. For example, statue Luxor J.4 of Amenhotep son of Hapu was positioned on the north face of the 10th Pylon at Karnak Temple. As a reward for the offertory prayer and for invoking his name, the statue base contains the following passage (Urk. IV 1835.4-7):

Come to me that I may report your petitions.
I am one who reports to this god.
Nebmaʿatre (Amenophis III) has appointed me
to report that of which the Two Lands speak.

This text indicates that Amenophis III had appointed Amenhotep son of Hapu to report the petitions (*sml.i sprwt.tn*) of those who visited the temple to the god, who would presumably answer them directly. A similar motivation is provided on statue CG 583, also of Amenhotep son of Hapu, which was set up between the 3rd and 4th Pylons at Karnak.⁶⁴

⁶⁴ Urk. IV 1833.15-16: “come to me that I may report that which you say to Amun in Karnak” (*mi n.i sml.i dd(w).tn n Imn m Ipt-swt*).

Likewise, the 19th Dynasty statue Linköping 189 of Anhumakhte from Nag' el-Mesheikh (KRI IV 375.14) indicates that he too hears the visitor's petitions (*sdm.(i) sprwt.tn*).

Another motivation, provided in a few Appeals found on several Ramesside statues, indicates that saying the offertory prayer will ensure a person a good rest in the tomb.⁶⁵ For example, the Appeal on the 19th Dynasty Saqqara statue JE 89046 of Pahemnutjer (KRI III 4111.16) contains the phrase “may you rest in your tomb in the sacred land” (*htp.tn hr isy.tn m t3 dsr*). A similar phrase “may you rest in your tomb” (*htp.tn [m] i.[tn]*) appears in the Appeal on the Deir Durunka statue MMA 33.2.1 of Iuny (KRI I 353.11). A similar sentiment is expressed by a passage on the Deir el-Medina statue (Cairo 11.4.64.1) of Pashedu (Bruyère 1953 p. 30, line 6) “may they grant the West to the beautiful statue” (*di.sn imnty n hnty nfr*). If the recitation of the offertory prayer aids the deceased, these expressions may work on a reciprocal principle, in that what one does for others will be done for oneself in turn; hence correct behaviour towards the dead would ensure correct behaviour towards oneself once dead, allowing one to rest well in the tomb.

9.8 Benefits for little or no effort

A significant motivation in the Appeals is the assurance that it takes little or no effort to recite the offertory prayer on behalf of the deceased and yet benefit, perhaps even the greater benefit, will accrue to the one who does this; this is the basic principle of the golden rule, that it is better to give than to receive (Acts 20:35). The benefits to be accrued are those discussed earlier in this chapter and include the favour of the king and gods, a good

⁶⁵ A somewhat similar idea is expressed in the Deshasha tomb of Inti (Urk. I 71.3) in the phrase “anyone who shall desire his own burial with his possessions” (*rmꜥ nb mrw.ty.fy krs.f m išwt.f*).

reputation for proper behaviour, protection, and assistance in the Afterlife. This expression appears in the Dynasty Six tomb of Metjetjy at Saqqara (now Berlin 32190, cf. Kaplony 1968 pl. III) in the form “it is more beneficial to whoever does it than to him for whom it was done.” Only the first part of the expression is preserved (*iw.(f r) 3h n irr*); the second part (*r irrw n.f*) is reconstructed on analogy from several Middle Kingdom examples, such as stela Berlin 7311 (Rehw-ankh), stela Florence 1540 (Neferniy) or the Sehel graffito of Antef (Habachi 1953 fig. 1).⁶⁶

9.8.1 The Breath of the Mouth formula

The Appeal of Nebipu (stela Khartoum 2646) from Semna dates to the late Middle Kingdom; it connects the “it is more beneficial” phrase with another significant phrase, “the breath of the mouth.” The passage reads as follows (Dunham and Janssen 1960 p. 61):

Indeed, there is no reduction in your property
The breath of (your) mouth is beneficial to the deceased,
because a good deed is more beneficial to the one who does it
than for the one for whom it is done.

Here a definite subject (*sp nfr*) is provided for *3h* rather than the indefinite one seen in the examples from the previous paragraph. The good deed is without cost, since it is only a spoken prayer (i.e. the breath of the mouth). The phrase “there is no reduction in your property” or “nothing goes forth from your possessions” (*n pr is pw m hwt.sn*) also appears in the late Middle Kingdom Appeal of Senpu (stela Turin 1628) without the *pw*.

The more common expression is “the breath of the mouth is profitable for the blessed dead; it is not something under which one wearies” (*t3w ny r3 3h n s' h nn wn m wrdt hr.s*).

⁶⁶ Gardiner 1957 p. 273 note 2 gives this phrase as an example of the imperfective active participle.

It is called the “Breath of the Mouth” formula and the 16 Middle Kingdom examples have been studied by Vernus 1976. An extended version is found on the Saqqara Twelfth Dynasty stela of Neferher (JE 51733, cf. Jéquier 1940 fig. 29):

The breath of the mouth is profitable for the blessed (dead);
 (it is) not something under which one wearies,
 because it is not painful for you.
 There is no reduction in your property.
 It is not difficult to speak goodness.

The idea is expressed that the spoken prayer is a great benefit for the deceased, but no cost to the deliverer, who will not even become tired from the recitation (Leprohon 2001 p. 571). The simple act of saying a prayer is neither a strenuous nor a challenging undertaking. Most any native Egyptian would have been able to rattle off the offertory prayer in the same way as medieval Europeans could recite the *Pater noster* or *Ave Maria* prayers; in the same way, the prayer would be an affirmation of their cultural identity and of the sacred nature of life. It would take a moment of time, but would not involve the expense of actual material resources.

The Breath of the Mouth formula first appears in the Twelfth Dynasty and occurs in all areas of the country, with examples known from Saqqara, Dahshur, Haraga, Asyut (tomb of Djefa-hapi), Abydos, Edfu, Sehel near Aswan, and from Semna in Nubia (Vernus 1976). There are some minor variations among the texts, such as the use of *nfw* for *ḥw* to indicate “breath” in Haraga stela Copenhagen AEIN 1539 (Sepi), and a different form of negation (*n wrd n.tn bw-nfr*) in Abydos stela CG 20046 (Sasobek).⁶⁷ Vernus (1976 p. 141 no. 14) includes one example in his catalogue that does not include the “breath of the mouth” phrase. It is from an Abydene Appeal on stela Tübingen 458 (Sobekhotep) with

⁶⁷ Literally rendered as “a good deed is not wearying for you.”

the phrase “nothing goes forth from your burial (*n pr is m kṛst.tn*); there is no difficulty in the mouth for the one who says it (*nn ksn m rʒ n dd.fst*). I would not class this as an example of the Breath of the Mouth formula, and feel that even accepting it as a variant is questionable, though *n pr is m kṛst.tn* is a variant of *n pr is pw m hwt.sn*.

Another variant of the Breath of the Mouth formula given by Vernus (1976 p. 142 no. 16) is from Edfu stela CG 20530 (Horemmehib). The date of this stela is either late Dynasty 13, or more probably Second Intermediate Period. The passage reads (Sethe 1928 p. 89 no. 28h):

There is no load on your shoulders
It is the sweet breath of your mouth
that will be beneficial to the noble
Horemmehib in the necropolis.

Here the reference to the offertory prayer not being something under which one wearies has been replaced by the graphic image of it not being a load on one’s shoulders (*nn ʒtpw pw hr rmnwy.tn*) and the order of the two parts has been reversed. The Breath of the Mouth formula continues to be used in Appeals into the early part of the 18th Dynasty. The variant “the breath of the mouth one cannot eat (*tʒw ny rʒ n wnm.n.tw*), there is no hurry, no weariness in it” (*nn shs nn wrd im.f*) appears in the el-Kab tomb of Pahery (Urk. IV 123.1-3). A more standard version appears on Karnak statue CG 579 (Senenmut), statue Brooklyn 37.30 (Djehuty), and stela Grenoble 1954 from Theban tomb 131 (User). In a majority of cases, the Breath of the Mouth formula appears in connection with an Appeal text.

9.8.2 Refreshment of the Nose formula

Found in the 18th Dynasty Appeals more commonly than the Breath of the Mouth formula is another phrase that might be called the “Breath of the Nose” formula. The standard expression is “may your nose be refreshed with life” (*hwn fnd.tn m ‘nh*); this occurs twice in the same 18th Dynasty Appeal as the Breath of the Life formula, but each time in a different stanza.⁶⁸ Other 18th Dynasty examples from Thebes are statue CG 42118 (Amenuser), statue CG 42123 (Djehuty), and Theban tomb 84 (Imau-nedjeh). 18th Dynasty variants of the refreshment of the nose formula from stela CG 34057 (Neferhotep) and stela CG 34018 (Nebwawy) contain the phrase “the sweet breeze of the north wind” (*t3w ndm ny mhyt*). The word (*t3w*) for “breeze” and “breath” is the same, and the same word is used in the Breath of the Mouth formula.

Whereas the Breath of the Mouth formula refers to the act of speaking a prayer, the Refreshment of the Nose formula refers to the continued life of the deceased in the Afterlife. As expressed on stela CG 34057 (Neferhotep), the gift of the breath to the nose is from the gods, in this case the god Amun, and is made to the *k3* of the deceased. The refreshment of the nose of the *k3* of the deceased works in the same way as the offertory formulas addressed *n k3 n(y) NN* work to ensure adequate sustenance for the deceased. The rejuvenation or refreshment of one’s nose with life was also desired for the deceased to flourish in the Afterlife. This refreshment could be accomplished through a spoken prayer, as indicated on stela CG 34018 of Nebwawy (Urk. IV 1495.18) where the viewer is enjoined to say “may a sweet breath of the north wind (be) at the nose of the High Priest of Osiris Nebwawy, justified before Osiris.” The *m3^c hrw* expression after a

⁶⁸ Statue Brooklyn 37.30 (Djehuty) and stela Grenoble 1954 from TT131 (User).

personal name is an indication that the individual is thought of as deceased and in the Afterlife already.⁶⁹

As with stela CG 34018 of Nebwawy, the expressions concerning breath to the nose are often situated more as requests than as motivations. The term “(sweet) breath of life” (*t3w ndm ny ‘nh*) is found on two Middle Kingdom Appeals from Abydos. On stela CG 20164 of Wahysobek (Lange and Schäfer 1908 p. 195), viewers are asked to say the “breath of life” to the nose of Wahysobek, presumably referring to his representation on the stela. On stela CG 20540 of Burekhef (Lange and Schäfer 1908 p. 158), “the sweet breath of life” is to be given to the *k3* of Burekhef, so that the deceased may breathe easier in the Afterlife. From the 19th Dynasty, the phrase “breath to your nose” (*t3w r fnd.k*) appears in the Appeal on Deir Durunka statue MMA 33.2.1 of Iuny (KRI I 353.12) and in the following request from the Zawyet Sultan tomb of Nefersekheru (Osing 1992 pl. 43):

When you see it, may you say to it (the statue)
while passing by my funerary chapel:
“breath to your nose, Nefersekheru, justified,
(and) a libation for your *k3*.”

Here again it is made clear that the “breath to the nose” is to be given to the deceased at his funerary chapel and in association with a libation offering as well. Though it lacks the standard phrasing found in many 18th Dynasty Appeals, the concept of breath to the nose is documented in the Appeals both prior to the New Kingdom, during the Middle Kingdom, and subsequent to the 18th Dynasty in the 19th Dynasty.

⁶⁹ See Anthes 1953, Gardiner 1957 p. 50, Allen 1999 p. 95, and especially Doxey 1998 pp. 91-3. But note that in certain circumstances the epithet seems to have been applied to living people as well (Leprohon 1980 p. 308 and Lesko 2002 DLE v. I p. 175).

9.9 Conclusion

The motivations presented in the Appeal texts indicate that the Egyptians saw a strong continuity between the Afterlife and life on earth, with an easy communication between the two. The request to say the offertory prayer for others was the correct thing to do and part of *maʿat* or the right order of the cosmos. To motivate others to act in this appropriate way, the intended recipients needed to indicate that they too had acted according to *maʿat* and were worthy of being treated in a respectful manner in return. There is a clear perception of how the monuments will speak to future generations, once the monument's owner is dead. Even though deceased, the owner of the monument with an Appeal would still be an effective presence, both in this world and in the next. The deceased would be transfigured into an *ʒh* spirit with the knowledge and power to influence events both on earth and in the Afterlife. Specifically, the *ʒh* spirit of the deceased offers to protect the speaker of the offertory prayer in the necropolis as well as to stand by him during his judgment at the tribunal of the Afterlife.

Though the Appeals generally motivate with positive incentives, they include negative motivations or threats, which are generally the opposite of the positive rewards promised. Just as offers of protection are made by the deceased as an *ʒh* spirit, so too are threats of litigation made against those whose behaviour toward the deceased is inappropriate. With the specialized knowledge and power of an *ʒh* spirit, it is not supposed that they would lose the case in the Afterlife tribunal. It was vital for the deceased to have children, since it was through them that he would continue to endure on earth, hence the many assurances that one would pass on one's offices to one's children (*swʒd.tn iʒwt.tn n*

hrdw.tn). These good wishes are, however, counterbalanced by threats to destroy one's descendants (Nekhebu *Urk.* I 218.14) or to prevent one's heirs from succeeding to one's office (Hatnub graffito no, 49, Beni Hasan biography of Khnumhotep II, and statue Ashmolean 1913.163). In expedition Appeals, promises to reward respectful behaviour with safe returns (*ph m htp*) are counterbalanced by threats, such as that from a Hatnub stela (Posener 1968) that disrespectful behaviour will prevent a safe return. Likewise, incentives to achieve a successful burial (statue MMA 33.2.1 of Iuny and statue JE 89046 of Pahemnutjer) have counterparts in threats to prevent malefactors' burial in the West (tomb of It-ibi in Asyut and Theban tomb of Senenmut, *Urk.* IV 402.1).

Kingship and the divine cult maintained ideally by the king are the central institutions of ancient Egyptian society. Rewards and punishments in the everyday world would have been ascribed to one of these two sources. Career advancement and social position at most periods in Egyptian history would have been through the favour of the king, or of his representatives in the civil, military, and religious bureaucracies. Other rewards, such as good health, talent, ability, marrying well etc., would have been ascribed to the largesse of the gods. Royal and divine favour do appear as incentives in the Appeal texts, but are only one among many motivations.

The overriding motivating principle found in the ancient Egyptian Appeal texts is that of *do et des*; a reciprocal agreement is established between the promulgator of an Appeal and the reader. Those who set up the Appeals are at pains to assure future readers of their suitability and worthiness to receive prayers; they ask that their names be remembered

and also display their titles and offices as an indication of their social rank and position. They indicate that they respected the norms of their society and made the appropriate offerings and respected the tombs of others. In this way they establish that they participated in *maʿat* and deserve to be so treated in return. By reciting the offertory prayer and the name of the deceased, the reader secures his place in *maʿat*, the divinely established correct order of the universe. In this way, as the formula explains, “it is more profitable for the one who does it than for the one for whom it is done.”

10.0 CONCLUSION

As the Appeal texts developed from the Old Kingdom through the New Kingdom, the basic concepts remained the same, even if the exact phrasing did not. The genre contains an invocation that is usually quite general in nature, but which may be designed for specific contexts, a request that the offertory formula be spoken on behalf of the deceased, and usually some rationale or reward for doing so. The present research suggests that the definition of an Appeal text can be formulated to include these three elements: 1) the invocation to those who are still living, either in general terms or according to specific offices or classes of people; 2) the request for the offertory prayer; and 3) the motivation for complying with the Appeal. If one of these elements is not explicitly present in an Appeal, then I would argue that it is implicitly present given the genre and context of the text.

The analysis of the Appeal texts collected in the present study sample indicates that the genre is based on a number of stereotypical phrases. It would be a mistake, however, to try and define the genre in terms of these word groups alone. Although stereotypical phrases are used repeatedly in the study sample, there are many variations on these formulae and only rarely does the same Appeal appear in different contexts. There are variations in vocabulary with different synonyms being used; there are variations in grammatical forms that are used; and there are variations in the elaboration of the different formulae. Moreover, there is variation over time. Most commonly the stereotypical phrases found in the Appeal texts start at the end of the Old Kingdom or in the First Intermediate Period and continue into the 18th Dynasty. Variations become

frequent in the Middle Kingdom and continue through the New Kingdom. By the Ramesside Period variations are the rule and the original phrases appear rarely, if at all. It is possible that there were regional variations in the Appeal texts as well, but the uneven geographical distribution of the sample for any one period makes this difficult to analyze.

Clearer is the chronological development of the Appeal texts as a whole. Starting in the tombs of the Memphite necropolis in Dynasty Five, by the Sixth Dynasty Appeal texts are found in private tombs throughout Egypt. Though generally found on the tomb walls in the Old Kingdom, already in Dynasty Six a number of Appeals are found on stelae or false doors from tombs. In the First Intermediate Period the Appeals are generally found on stelae, though they do continue to appear on a few tomb walls in Middle Egypt. A new development in the First Intermediate Period is the expedition Appeal written in ink or inscribed on the cliff face of a quarry or other site to which an expedition had been sent to obtain stone or other raw materials. These expedition Appeals continue through the Middle Kingdom, as do the tomb Appeals, but most of the Middle Kingdom Appeals are found on stelae (60 out of 85 in the study sample). A new development in the Middle Kingdom is the placement of Appeals on statues. Middle Kingdom Appeals are typically found in association with the cult of Osiris at Abydos and other mortuary cults, such as those maintained in the pyramid temples at Saqqara, or that of Heqaib at Aswan. In the New Kingdom Appeal texts become popular once again in the tombs of the elite, specifically in the Theban necropolis, but at the same time continue to be found on stelae and statues, from both tombs and temples.

one's neck wrung like a bird, would protect their tomb is perhaps indicative of the bureaucratic mindset of the tomb owners.

The origin of the Appeals is connected with the genre of "biography" or "autobiography" which appears in private tombs at the end of the Fifth Dynasty (Gnirs 1996 and 2001; Kloth 2002). The inscriptions are written in the first person and thus may be called "autobiography." But to some extent this is related to the fact that the deceased is represented on the tomb walls and meant to be "living" the inscriptions and depictions in the tomb for all eternity. The existence of formal and stereotypical phraseology strongly suggests that these "autobiographies" were in fact manufactured to some extent by the craftsmen or scribes in charge of tomb decoration. Tomb owners presumably indicated the general pattern of decoration that they wanted in the tomb, but this pattern also reflected cultural norms and the experience of the craftsmen. The name and titles of the deceased were the crucial elements that would have been passed on from the tomb owner to the craftsmen. As the craftsmen added or omitted common epithets or minor titles to suit the space available, these texts may be considered "biographical." Inasmuch as the phrase "he says" (*dd.f*) puts much of the text into the mouth of the deceased (Kloth 2002 pp. 52-54), it is useful to accept that the Egyptians considered the texts to be "autobiographical," even if this would not exactly be the case in terms of the modern understanding of the term.

Scholars connecting the specific example of Appeal texts with the wider biographical genre have implied that the Appeal texts date back to Dynasty Three² or Four,³ but the data sample presented here indicates that the earliest Appeal texts date to the mid-to-late Dynasty Five.⁴ The earliest known examples of the Appeal to the Living texts are from the Saqqara tombs of Hetepherakhet (now in Leiden), Pehenwikai (now in Berlin) and Ti (Saqqara D22). Hetepherakhet held a priesthood at the solar temple of Neuserre; thus, he may be dated to this reign of slightly later.⁵ Neferirkare is mentioned in the tomb of the vizier Pehenwikai.⁶ Ti holds the titles of “Overseer of the Pyramids of Neuserre, and Overseer of the Sun-Temples of Sahure, Neferirkare and Neuserre” (PM III² p. 468), so he must be dated to the reign of Neuserre or later in Dynasty Five.⁷ Khuiwer is probably a contemporary of Ti and was buried in a rock-cut tomb at Giza.⁸ As far as the Appeal texts go, there is little difference between the necropoli of Saqqara and Giza.

² Redford (1994 p. 2232) is referring to the whole biographical genre of texts when he states ‘by the close of the Third Dynasty is often appended a statement introduced by the words “he says” in which the dead person addresses “all you who pass by.”’

³ E. Schott (1977 p. 454) indicates that the ideal biography is attested since the beginning of Dynasty Four, noting that it is often joined by threats against tomb robbers and statements that the tomb owner was virtuous and held in high esteem by the king, the gods, and his fellow men.

⁴ According to Garnot, the earliest Appeal text is found in the Giza tomb of Kaiherasetef (Urk. I 10.6-7). Although this text is represented as dating from the middle of Dynasty Four (Garnot 1938 p. 3), in his historical summary Garnot (1938 p. 107) equivocates, stating that the Appeal texts originated either at the end of Dynasty Four or the beginning of Dynasty Five. In an appendix, Garnot (1938 p. 117) suggests that the Kaiherasetef text is really an archaizing Dynasty Five example. Following PM III² p. 262, I would place Kaiherasetef at the end of the Fifth Dynasty, or even at the beginning of the Sixth Dynasty. Strudwick (2005 p. 243) says that Kaiherasetef is “probably sixth dynasty.”

⁵ Harpur (1987 p. 275 = V.6-8E) and Baer (1960 p. 108) both date Hetepherakhet to the reign of Neuserre or later in Dynasty Five.

⁶ Strudwick (1985 p. 301) and Baer (1960 p. 72) place Pehenwikai in the middle of Dynasty Five and Harpur (1987 p. 273) places him at the end of the Dynasty (V.6-8E).

⁷ Baer 1960 p. 152. Harpur 1987 p. 277 places Ti at the end of Dynasty Five (V.8-9) in the reign of Isesi and/or Unas).

⁸ Hassan 1944 pp. 237-56. Baer (1960 p. 68) notes that Khuiwer appears in the Abusir papyri from the reign of Djedkare-Isesi and places him in period V C (mid Dynasty 5 or later, Baer 1960 p. 289). Harpur (1987 p. 268) lists a *Khww-wr* from Giza in her period V.8-9M at the end of Dynasty Five (reigns of Djedkare-Isesi and Unas).

With the Sixth Dynasty, the Appeal texts find an ever increasing popularity, but it is not with a focus on respecting the sacred nature and physical structure of the tomb. Appeals for visitors to respect the tomb do continue in the Sixth Dynasty and are even found in subsequent periods, as for example in the First Intermediate Period tomb of Iti-ibi, or the 18th Dynasty tomb of Nakhtmin in Akhmim. Certainly concern for the safety of tombs did not diminish, but the Appeal text was not seen as a particularly effective method of protection. It may very well have been realized that those most likely to either enter tombs impurely, or to do damage to them, would not have been able to read the Appeals. The Sixth Dynasty shows experimentation with the nature of the Appeal, with some Appeals being addressed to very specialized audiences, such as embalmers and lector priests, who would insure that the proper funerary rites would be performed for the deceased. But it was a more broadly based Appeal which resulted in a focus being placed on real and invoked offerings for the deceased. These Appeals suggest that there were visitors to the cemeteries among the elite, literate class of society; this audience would have access to offerings and would be trained in the proper etiquette and respect for the dead.

The broadly based Appeal to “those who (still) live on earth” typically requests invocation offerings for the deceased. The first few examples (e.g. Metjetjy and Nekhebu) come from Giza and Saqqara in the reign of Pepi I. In the reigns of Merenre and Pepi II, this sort of Appeal is found throughout the provincial cemeteries of Upper Egypt (e.g. Abydos, Akhmim, Aswan, Deir el-Gebrawi, Deshasha, and Edfu). As an appeal for the cult of the deceased, the location of the Appeal no longer has to be near the

entrance or on the façade of the tomb. It becomes more appropriate to have the Appeal in the interior of the tomb, often at the focal point of the cult at the false door stela. In the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom, the majority of the Appeal texts are found on stelae. The tradition of inscribing Appeals on the façade or inside tombs continued, however. One can certainly not discount the availability of the Old Kingdom tombs as models or prototypes. The Appeal (Urk. I 76-79) from the Deir el-Gebrawi cliff tomb (no. 67) of Henqu dates to the period just after the Sixth Dynasty (Schenkel 1965 p. 41); it follows the tradition already established at the site in the Sixth Dynasty tombs of Ibi (Urk. I 142.15-143.2) and of Djaou (Urk. I 147.9-12). Likewise, the Appeal of Sarenput (Habachi 1985 p. 38 fig. 4) follows in the tradition already established in Aswan by Harkhuf (Urk. I 122.9-123.4).⁹

In the First Intermediate Period the popularity of the Appeal texts continues unabated, but only at Asyut and Deir el-Gebrawi in Herakleopolitan territory are the Appeals actually found on tomb walls. Four of the nomarchs of Asyut have left tombs that include Appeal texts, starting with Khety I (Asyut tomb no. 5) from the earlier part of the First Intermediate Period and continuing on to the tomb of Djefa-hapi (Asyut no. 1) in the reign of Sesostri I at the beginning of Dynasty Twelve.¹⁰ A pair of Appeal texts (Urk. VII 53-54) appears on the east wall of Djefa-hapi's tomb south of the door in the great

⁹ Like the Appeal of Harkhuf, Sarenput addresses "those who (still) live on earth" and those who "pass by the tomb going upstream or downstream." Sarenput asks for an invocation offering, as does Harkhuf, but the Appeal of Sarenput is not a direct copy of the Appeal of Harkhuf.

¹⁰ Asyut tomb no. 5 (Khety I) is thought to be the earliest in the sequence (Spanel 1989 p. 303), as there is no mention of "strife with the Thebans" (Poole 1999 p. 159). The next tomb in the sequence is Asyut no. 3 (Iti-ibi), which mentions a "rebel" (*sbi*), who may be the Thebans fighting against the forces of Herakleopolis and Asyut (Morschauser 1987 p. 246). Asyut tomb no. 4 belongs to It-ibi's son Khety II, who was a contemporary of King Merikare of Dynasty 10, and who may have been the last nomarch before the Theban Eleventh Dynasty took control of Asyut.

hall, with one threatening harm to any who shall damage the inscriptions in the tomb and the other offering a reward for those who exhibit proper behaviour and who offer a *htp-di-nsw* (prayer) for Djefa-hapi. In the paired construction, threat, and other elements, the Appeals of Djefa-hapi reflect the influence of his predecessor and Khety I's successor, It-ibi (Edel 1984 figs. 2 & 5). The location of the Appeals of It-ibi on the jambs of the entrance of his tomb may have influenced the location of the Appeals in the 18th Dynasty tombs at Amarna. Djefa-hapi's Appeal was copied in the Appeal of Puyemre (Davies 1922 pl. 22) in Theban tomb 39 from the time of Tuthmosis III in the 18th Dynasty (Manuelian 1994 pp. 12-16).

Though not attested in Middle Kingdom tombs after the reign of Sesostris I, Appeal texts are popular in the New Kingdom tombs at Thebes and vicinity (e.g. el-Kab and Hierakonpolis). The wealth of Egypt's imperial conquests at the beginning of the 18th Dynasty made elaborate rock-cut tombs affordable to many of the elite and the high officials of the realm. These tombs did not all follow the same plan, but typically there was a transverse hall with a passage leading back to the false door. Stelae, often located at the two ends of this transverse hall, contained idealized biographies of the deceased, which often included an Appeal text.¹¹ Visitors who had hitherto not known the deceased would be expected to become sympathetic once they had learned something about the career and character of the tomb owner in the admittedly idealizing tomb autobiography. Imau-nedjeh (Urk. IV 939.7-8) refers to this situation in his Appeal when he addresses those "who shall enter my tomb in order to see what I have done on earth." Having come

¹¹ Such Appeals are found in TT11 of Djehuty (NK.85a-b), TT39 of Puyemre (NK.36), TT79 of Menkheperresoneb (NK.39), TT81 of Ineni (NK14a-b), TT84 of Imau-nedjeh (NK.7), TT100 of Rekhmire (NK.59), TT104 of Djehutynefer (NK.87) and TT127 of Senemiah (NK.69a-b).

to “know” a person in this way, visitors were more likely to help them out by reciting the offertory formula. Appeals also appear in other parts of the tomb that were a focus for the funerary cults, such as near the false door or on the statues of the deceased.¹²

With the advent of the Amarna Period tomb stelae and temple statues of private individuals are no longer attested (Guksch 1994 p. 21). But the solar hymns, which are placed at the entrance of private tombs, often contain biographical information as well. In the tombs of Ay (Amarna no. 25) and Panehsy (Amarna no. 6) the entranceway inscriptions are accompanied by Appeals. These Appeals enjoin the visitor to both praise the king and to adore the Aten. For example, Ay calls upon everyone who loves life and who desires a good life with the following (Urk. IV 1999.23-4):

Praise the king, the sole one like the Aten.
There is no other who is great like him.
May he give you a lifetime of joy, (and)
food, as well as fowl (out) of that which he gives.

So the Amarna ideology, where the Aten is the one god and he and the king are the source of all material benefits, is reflected in the Amarna Appeal texts. The Appeal of Tutu is within the tomb itself, similar to the earlier 18th Dynasty Appeals, but is similar to the other Amarna Appeals in content, in that he calls upon visitors to “see the great things that were done for me” by the king (Urk. IV 2017.1). In addition to the Appeal texts addressed to visitors, the Amarna tombs contain texts addressed directly to the king and to the Aten. So while the context and content of the Appeals is different, the Amarna

¹² The Appeal of Pahery (Urk. IV 120.12-123.14) from el-Kab is on the back wall of the tomb shaped like a large stela and the Appeal of Djehuty from Hierakonpolis (Urk. IV 133.7f.) is placed to the right side of a niche in that tomb that probably held a statue originally; the Appeal of Nakhtmin (Urk. IV 1185 no. 348) is on the seat of his statue.

evidence underscores that the genre was flexible enough to adapt to the tenets of the new Amarna religion.

In the Ramesside Period an attempt is made to return to the pre-Amarna ways and Appeals once again appear in Theban tombs. The attempt to turn back the clock and to erase the Amarna heresy, however, was not entirely successful; one feels as if something of the essence of the Appeal tradition was lost, as the old formulae are only preserved in a multitude of variant forms. The idea that “every appeal to be remembered by society is abandoned”¹³ and all hopes were directed to the gods is a bit extreme. The rise in personal piety in the Ramesside period (Assmann 2002 pp. 229-246), however, is undeniable. Something of the intense emotional bond that Akhenaten displayed with his god can be seen to have survived into the Ramesside Period. For example, in Theban tombs 183 and 184, Nebsumenu and Nefermenu reveal a close bond with Amun of Karnak (KRI III pp. 163 & 185):

O god’s servants, divine fathers,
pure ones, lector priests, and
all who perform their tasks within
the Temple of Amun, and in his
Beautiful Festival of the Valley (so that) their
hearts may walk about in the noble valley.

These Appeals are addressed directly to the priesthood of the Amun temple and to those who work there. The importance of the god in the life of these people is emphasized by the mention of the Beautiful Festival of the Valley, when Amun of Karnak would visit the west bank of Thebes and appear in his barque to the populace.¹⁴ Many of the temple

¹³ Assmann 1984 p. 669, quoted in Guksch 1994 p. 104 and in Ockinga 1994 p. 567.

¹⁴ For recent treatments of the Valley festival see Strudwick 1999 pp. 78-80 and Wilkinson 2000 pp. 95-6. The classic treatment remains that of Schott 1953.

staff would have walked in the entourage (*šnwt*) of the god, enacting in life the path that they expected to follow in death for all eternity.

The idea of safeguarding or protecting the tomb from desecration was never lost in the period covered by this study. The concept of the Appeal as a protective device is nicely illustrated by an ostrakon now in the Royal Scottish Museum (Edinburgh 1956-316).

Though we don't know the exact tomb from which it came, or the precise date, the hieratic text written in ink on the stone indicates that it was put inside the tomb passage and informs the finder "if you find this stone, you are trespassing against it" (Černý 1967 pl. 16 lines 4-5). The motivation to respect the tomb is given a few lines further down (Černý 1967 pl. 18 lines 13-15):

As for the one who will be successful,
you should be aware of removing this stone from its place.
As for the one who will drive it from its place,
the great lords of the West will reproach him exceedingly.

As with the other tomb Appeals in this study, success is promised to those who respect the tomb and punishment in the Afterlife is threatened to those who disrespect or mistreat the tomb and its occupants. A warning "not to crowd the deified dead in their own dwellings" (Černý 1967 lines 9-10) may refer to the practice of placing coffins inside tombs constructed in previous eras, which became widespread in the Third Intermediate Period when few new tombs were constructed.

10.2 The Expedition Appeal outside the Nile Valley

Appeal texts produced in Egyptian quarrying and mining sites occur in the First Intermediate Period and in the Middle Kingdom. The five major quarrying regions for

the Egyptians outside of the Nile Valley at this time are 1) the Wadi el-Hudi amethyst quarries; 2) other quarries in Nubia; 3) the Wadi Hammamat corridor to the Red Sea; 4) the travertine (Egyptian alabaster) quarries at Hatnub; and 5) the Sinai turquoise and copper mines.¹⁵ There is great variation in the popularity of Appeal texts in the different regions and in the type of Appeal that is found. Only one Appeal is known from the Wadi el-Hudi (inscription no. 11, Sadek 1980 pp. 28-29) on the east side of the Nile south of the First Cataract. Few Appeal texts appear in Nubia; Khor Dehmit graffito no. 308 (Roeder 1911 pp. 115-6) and Khartoum stela 2646 from the Semna fort (Dunham and Janssen 1960 p. 61) show that Appeals were known in the region south of Egypt. Likewise, despite the records of many quarrying expeditions from the Wadi Hammamat, only a single Appeal is known (graffito M 150). The popular sites for expedition Appeals are the Hatnub quarries from the end of the First Intermediate Period through to the reign of Sesostri I in the 12th Dynasty and the Sinai quarries in the 12th Dynasty reigns from Sesostri III to Ammenemes IV.

Rather than being dated by a national ruler's name, the early Appeal texts at Hatnub are dated with the names of the local rulers of el-Bersheh in the 15th Upper Egyptian (Hare) nome. Three Appeals are from year 5 of Nehri, one is from year 6, three are from year 7, and one is from year 8; so eight examples all fall within a four-year range. A further example is dated to year 13 of Ahanakhte, who preceded Nehri as ruler of the Hare nome. Four additional Appeals come from the reign of Sesostri I: Hatnub graffiti 32 and 49, as well as two stelae, one published by Posener 1968 and one by Simpson 1976. The typical

¹⁵ See Blumenthal 1977 and Seyfried 1981 for overall studies of the expedition texts. Seyfried does not include the Hatnub texts, but these are well covered in Anthes 1938.

Hatnub Appeal includes an invocation to travelers (*skd*), and a request that they raise the arm (*βi ʿ*) to the figure drawn on the cliff face, with a few including a threat to harm those that should deface the image. As an example, the Appeal of Hatnub graffito 16 is as follows (Anthes 1928 pp. 35f., with reconstruction from graffiti 17 & 19):

As for any traveler
who shall lift up his arm to this image,
he will reach his house safely
after he has attained that for which he came.

If he shall harm these figures,
it is the gods of the Hare nome
who shall punish him.

The first four lines also appear in Hatnub graffiti nos. 12, 17, 20, 22, 25, 28, and 32.

Hatnub graffiti nos. 19 and 35 include the threat, but not the request for the traveler to raise his arm.

The Sinai Appeals emphasize the importance of the king and royal administration. For example, Sinai 114 (Ankreni) reads as follows (Černý 1952 pl. 38):

O those who (still) live on earth,
royal officials, friends of the palace,
who shall come to this desert hill country!

Give adoration in extolling the king's power,
(and) praise the king.
Look at what has occurred for him.
The mountains show the way to that which is in them.

The invocation to “those who (still) live on earth” appears in the majority of the Sinai Appeals,¹⁶ but here it is explicitly stated that the expected audience will be royal officials and representatives of the central administration. This can also be seen by the titles of

¹⁶ Namely on Sinai Appeal inscriptions nos. 35 (Menkhib), 36 no. 2 (Hori) & no. 3 (Ptahwer), no. 53 (Sobekhorab), no. 114 (Ankhreni), no. 118 (Qemau), and no. 409 (Seninen).

those who made the Appeals, who include a chamberlain, a seal-bearer and a retainer of the tribunals, officials of the treasury, interpreters, and even a stone mason. In referring to the Sinai, the Appeal of Sinai 114 uses the term *ḥ3st* “foreign hill country,” while other Appeals use *bi3* meaning “mining region.”¹⁷ The use of these terms is a clear indication that the Egyptians considered this area to be outside of their homeland.¹⁸

The expedition Appeals not only show that the Appeal genre extends beyond the borders of Egypt proper, but represent the expansion of the genre into a completely different milieu from the typical mortuary context of the Old Kingdom. The remoteness of the quarry and mining sites prompted those who led expeditions to wish to mark their accomplishments for those who later came to the sites. This commonality of having traveled to the same distant quarry established a certain bond between different visitors over time. Once having reached the site, the paramount concern was a safe return back to Egypt. The Appeals play on this desire and offer a safe return for those who show respect to the images of previous expeditions. The Hatnub graffiti ask for an arm to be raised, but the Sinai inscriptions are more explicit in asking for the *ḥtp-di-nsw* offertory prayer. This request for the offertory prayer connects the Sinai Appeals with those found earlier in a conventional mortuary context; the author of the Appeals is understood to be deceased and hence would benefit from the funerary prayer. The prayers must be assumed to have been thought to be effective, even though they were not in proximity to the tomb and burial of the deceased. Though some of the expedition Appeals are on

¹⁷ The term *bi3* (cf. *Wb.* I 438.13) appears in Sinai inscriptions nos. 36, 53, and 409. The term *ḥ3st* also appears in Sinai inscription no. 35.

¹⁸ When It-ibi in Asyut tomb no. 3 (Brunner 1937 p. 42) speaks of his cliff tomb at the edge of the Nile Valley, he uses the term *wʿrt* (necropolis, cf. *Wb.* I 288.2 or desert-plateau, cf. CDME p. 58).

stelae, most of those from Hatnub are drawn in ink on the cliff face; most of the Sinai Appeals are carved directly into the rock face.

10.3 The Appeal in Temples

The Middle Kingdom saw the expansion of the Appeal texts into the realm of the cult temple. This can be seen as a fairly logical development, when it is noted that the Appeals appeared in Middle Kingdom temples where the cult had a mortuary connection. The most important example of this cultic context is the temple of Osiris at Abydos, where a great procession took place from the Osiris Temple at Kom es-Sultan along a wadi to the “burial place” of Osiris at Umm el Qa‘ab in the low desert.¹⁹ Evidence suggests that the Osiris Temple underwent a major renovation in the reign of Sesostris I²⁰ and it was during this reign that many of the most imposing private stelae were erected at Abydos. The stelae were concentrated in an area called the “terrace of the great god” which was on higher ground and overlooked the processional way, just to the west of the entrance to the Osiris Temple (Collier 1998 p. 55 and Simpson 1974). So these stelae with Appeal texts were not exactly in a temple, but not exactly in a necropolis either.

The situation, with the annual gathering of large crowds of people who had time to wander around the area before the procession appeared, proved to be very popular for the inclusion of Appeal texts. The main incentive for the erection of stelae at Abydos was to ensure a presence of the deceased at the annual festival and hence a participation in the

¹⁹ By the Middle Kingdom the original deity of Abydos, Khentyamentiyu had been merged with Osiris and the tomb of King Djer of the 1st Dynasty had been interpreted as the tomb of Osiris (cf. Wegner 2001 p. 9).

²⁰ Stelae Louvre C12 (ANOC 58.1) and CG 20539 (Montuhotep), cf. Doxey 1998, p. 16 & Kemp 1972 p. 32.

resurrection of Osiris; the Appeals were only of secondary importance. It is difficult to gauge the significance of the Osiris festival to Middle Kingdom Egypt, but it was quite important (Yoyotte 1960 pp. 33-38); the area where the stelae were set up became more and more crowded and the stelae tended to become smaller over time (Doxey 1998 p. 16). The crowding of stelae actually threatened the processional route through the wadi and protective measures had to be taken by the authorities. The text of a late Middle Kingdom royal stela found at the north-eastern side of the wadi reads (Leahy 1989 p. 43, text on p. 42):

As for anyone who shall be found within these stelae,
except for a priest about his duties, he shall be burnt.

Moreover, as for any official who shall cause a tomb
to be made for himself within this holy place,
he shall be reported and this law applied to him
and to the necropolis-guard as (is the case) today.

But as for everywhere outside this holy place,
(it is) an area where people may make tombs for themselves
and where one may be buried.

The name of Neferhotep I is preserved on the stela, but the royal titulary has been recut. The style of the decree suggests that the original titulary would have belonged to one of Neferhotep's immediate predecessors, a king at the end of the Twelfth or more likely at the beginning of the Thirteenth Dynasty. One can imagine the temptation to continually encroach a bit further on the sacred avenue through which the procession passed.²¹ The situation envisaged by the decree, with its restriction of access to the sacred ground permitted to priests, confirms the idea gained from the Appeal texts that they would have been accessible to large numbers of visitors, especially during the Osiris festival.

²¹ The decree seems to have been successful since Janet Richards (1999 p. 96) reports that burial "during the Middle Kingdom never encroached on the wadi."

Another cult centre that came to occupy a position of local and regional significance, if not national importance, was the shrine of Heqaib on Elephantine Island at Aswan.

Habachi (1956 p. 13) suggests that the role of Elephantine as a staging post for Egyptian expeditions to Nubia during the Middle Kingdom may explain the popularity of the cult of the deified Heqaib.²² From the biographical inscription (Urk. I 131-135) on the façade of Heqaib's tomb (Qubbet el-Hawa no. 35), it is known that he led several successful expeditions to Nubia, so it would have been appropriate for Middle Kingdom Egyptians to make offerings, either asking for his support as they ventured south into Nubia, or giving thanks for their success as they returned. The Appeals not only appear on stelae, but also on statues set up in the shrine of Heqaib; the earliest Appeal on an Elephantine statue is on the statue of expedition leader Senebbu, dedicated in the Heqaib cult centre sometime in the (early) Twelfth Dynasty.²³ Three other statues from the Heqaib cult centre dating the late Middle Kingdom (Dynasty 13) contain Appeals; one is a seated statue (Heqaib no. 52), one is a standing statue (Heqaib no. 67), and one is a scribe statue (Heqaib no. 72). The Appeals are on the back of the seat (Senebbu, Heqaib no. 49), the side of the seat (Demi, Heqaib no. 52), the front of the kilt (Sanofret, Heqaib no. 67), and on the statue base (Senpu, Heqaib no. 72). The late Middle Kingdom (Dynasty 13) Appeals leave little doubt that visitors were able to enter the cult centre or *k3*-chapel of Heqaib. For example, the Appeal of Demi (Heqaib no. 52) invokes "those who (still) live on earth, nobles (as well as) all those who act, who shall enter this *k3*-chapel."

²² On the cult of the deified Heqaib see Franke 1994 pp. 118-152.

²³ There may be some connection with Abydos, as Habachi (1985 p. 76) has suggested that Senebbu may have originally come from Abydos (cf. Simpson 1974 ANOC 76). Senebbu's statue (Habachi 1985 p. 75) contains an invocation to "Osiris ... lord of Abydos."

Dynasty Twelve Appeals on private statues have been found at the sites of Dahshur and Saqqara as well; four examples from Dahshur²⁴ are connected with priests involved with the mortuary cult of Sneferu and two examples from Saqqara²⁵ are connected with the mortuary cults of Unas and Pepy II. There is little or no connection with the Old Kingdom Appeals from Giza and Saqqara; rather, the appearance of these Appeals on statuary in a cult temple context is a new development of the Middle Kingdom. The extension of Appeals unto private statuary in the Middle Kingdom follows the broader expansion of non-royal statuary into temples at this time (Russmann 1988 p. 48).

Most often these Appeals are directed toward lector priests and pure ones, but again it seems that in the Middle Kingdom visitors could enter the temples maintaining the mortuary cults of the Old Kingdom rulers. For example, the Appeal of Iti from Dahshur (Fakhry 1961 p. 42) is addressed to:

every pure one, every lector priest,
every *k3* priest (and) every scribe,
who shall enter this temple (and)
who shall see this statue

Not every scribe would be connected with a temple, so presumably the audience intended was broader than just temple personnel.

While the Middle Kingdom temple Appeals still had a connection with a mortuary context, this changes in the New Kingdom when Appeals of private individuals appear in

²⁴ Statue of Iti (Fakhry 1961 fig. 340A), pair statue of Ankhu and Sepnimut (Fakhry 1961 fig. 295), block statue of Fajhedjwy (Fakhry 1961 fig. 290), and the statue of Khentywka (Fakhry 1961 fig. 344).

²⁵ Block statue Cairo JE 51481 (Jéquier 1940 p. 32) and block statue Saqqara Magazin no. 16896 (Moussa 1984 p. 51).

some of the major cult temples of the time, such as the temple of Ptah at Memphis and the temple of Amun at Karnak. Again the Appeals themselves leave no doubt that they were meant to be read inside the temple; for example, the 18th Dynasty Appeal of Amenhotep from scribal statue Ashmolean Museum 1913.163 (Urk. IV 1917.25-28) contains the following invocation:

As for any steward of the king who shall
happen to be within (these) walls, any scribe,
any lector priest, any pure one of the temple,
(even) the entire priesthood of the temple,
anyone who shall be in this temple.

Though the primary audience would certainly be temple staff, a wider audience is envisaged, including those with such non-clerical posts as royal steward and scribe.

In most cases temple statues have not been preserved in their original context and we do not know exactly where they would have been placed, or how many would have existed at any single point in time. Temple cachettes, such as those found at Karnak (PM II² p. 136f.) and Luxor (El-Saghir 1992; Brock 1992) temples, suggest that at intervals temples could be cleaned out of “excess” sculpture; reasons for these clearances, however, are not clear. It is likely that private sculpture would only have been allowed in the outer parts of the temple. One position that was popular at Karnak, and likely elsewhere, was near the temple entrance or pylon gateway. For example, two scribal statues of Amenhotep son of Hapu (Cairo JE 44861 and 44862) and a scribal statue of Paramesses (Cairo JE 44964) were located on the north side of the 10th Pylon at Karnak.²⁶ This Paramesses is likely the future Ramesses I, which means the statue was just about contemporary with the pylon,

²⁶ An additional block statue of Amenhotep son of Hapu (Cairo CG 583) was located between the 3rd and 4th Pylons at Karnak.

whose construction is ascribed to Horemheb (PM II² p. 186). The statues of Amenhotep son of Hapu date back to the reign of Amenophis III, and they must have been moved to their location at the 10th Pylon from their original location. The reason for this is probably explained in the Appeal texts found on the statues. For instance, from Cairo JE 44861, the Appeal (Urk. IV 1833.15-19) reads:

Come to me, that I may report
that which you say to Amun in Karnak.
Make for (me) the *ḥtp-di-nsw* (prayer).
Pour a libation for me from that which is with you.
I am a herald, namely one whom the king appointed
in order to hear the words of the poor (and)
to advance the affairs of the Two Lands.

The statue offers to pass on requests to the god Amun in return for a libation and a prayer; in this way even the poorest ancient Egyptian without access to the temple proper could have her or his prayer passed on to the god. Such statues placed at the outer reaches of the temple would have been the most accessible.

On the other hand, statues placed closer to the temple sanctuary may have been perceived as being “closer” to the god. Rather than strictly physical closeness, however, it is likely that statues would have been placed along the processional routes in the temple. The Abydene stelae were located along the processional route of the festival of Osiris and the stelae do mention a number of festivals in which the deceased hopes to participate.²⁷

Ramesside Appeals on temple statues²⁸ typically request offerings (*ḥtp*), libations

²⁷ For example, the stela of Dedu (Durham-Alnwick 1932) asks: “May you extend an arm to me in the first procession, at the festival of fire, at the monthly (and) mid-monthly festivals ((namely) at all the festivals of Abydos for the revered Steward Dedu.” An extended list of festivals is also included in the Appeal of Shensetji (Los Angeles County Museum A.5141.50-876). Festivals are also mentioned on Middle Kingdom stelae from other sites, such as on the Saqqara stela of Neferhor (Cairo CG 20829).

²⁸ See NK.24 (Bakenkhonsu), NK.30 and 31 (Paser), NK.33 (Pashedu), NK.56 and 57 (Roma-Roy), NK.80 and 81 (Didia).

(*kbhw*), garlands (*nhw*), and even incense (*sntr*). One rather elaborate request is found in the Appeal of Anhurnakhte (NK.16) from Nag' el Mesheikh (KRI IV 375.11):

So you shall put beer in my hand,
bread in my arm(s) every day, (and)
you shall fill [my lap] with offerings (so that)
I am not [omitted] in the circuit at every festival
of Pi-Mehyt in regards to the daily provisions.

The emphasis on daily offerings indicates that the statue expected to participate in the daily cult of the temple, when offerings were presented to the various resident deities before being divided up among the temple staff. It is not clear if conscientious temple staff would have formally presented offerings to every statue in the temple or whether perhaps a more general offering would be made to all those represented in the temple.

In the New Kingdom, as more Appeals are found in temple contexts, it becomes more common for the Appeals to be directed to temple staff. While in general priestly staff are addressed, the Appeal of the High Priest Roma-Roy (NK.58) indicates just how comprehensive the Appeal invocations could be (KRI IV p.288.10-13):

O pure ones, scribes of the Amun Temple,
perfect servants of the god's offerings,
bakers, brewers, confectioners,
makers of different types of bread loaves,
those who perform all their tasks for their lord,
those who will enter this workshop which is in
[the Amun Temple] ...

Roma-Roy asks all staff of the Amun Temple to remember him and to pronounce his name. The Appeal is unique in that it is carved over the entrance to the staircase of the 8th Pylon at Karnak. Though originally built at the time of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III

in the 18th Dynasty, the 8th Pylon was restored in the reign of Seti I.²⁹ Some space was obviously left blank, however, to be filled in by Roma-Roy later in the 19th Dynasty. Whereas stelae and statues could be removed from the temple and reused, the temple wall would have had to have been dismantled or shaved down to destroy Roma-Roy's Appeal.

10.4 Transmission of the Appeal texts

Katarina Nordh in her Aspects of Ancient Egyptian Curses and Blessings (1996) devotes a large section of her work (pp. 106-184 plus several appendices) to the role of the House of Life in the transmission of curses and blessings, as well as other texts. Following Volten (1942 pp. 17-44), Nordh (1996 p. 107) interprets the House of Life as a "university." Gardiner (1938 p. 175), on the other hand, interpreted the House of Life as a "scriptorium." Redford (1986 p. 91 n. 72) notes the "elusive nature" of the House of Life and suggests that it may be "a cult organization rather than a physical building." Regardless of one's interpretation, however, the House of Life was clearly part of the religious administration in ancient Egypt and was attached to major temples. Nordh (1996 p. 139) emphasizes the importance of temple archives for textual transmission in ancient Egypt:

One may conjecture as regards the handling of prototypes and copies of administrative as well as non-administrative material, including the curse and blessing formulae of this study, that in general the prototype of a textual or pictorial product, or a copy of the original (as in the Canopus Decree), in papyrus, leather or linen, was stored in archives and libraries for long or short periods of time, accessible if authorization had been granted for consultation, copying, compiling and other kinds of text and image processing.

²⁹ PM II² pp. 177-8 and Brand 2000 pp. 68-78.

The model here is one where copies or templates were stored in temple archives and consulted and/or copied as needed; the idea is that pattern books (*Musterbücher*) could have been kept in the temples for consultation by scribes. While this was certainly the case for many types of documents in ancient Egypt, the question considered here is whether or not the Appeal texts fit into this pattern.

Initially, the idea of a pattern book for the Appeal texts is attractive; the stereotypical formulae found in the Appeal texts could be the result of these being recorded in pattern books. However, since the Appeal texts are private documents rather than being administrative, cultic, or educational in nature, I would question the need to record prototypes in a temple archive. The prototypes of the Appeal texts appear in stone on the tomb walls and stelae set up by one's predecessors. The evidence of the Appeal texts themselves indicates that visitors to the cemeteries or the cultic procession of Osiris at Abydos would have taken time to read these monuments. Furthermore, the development of the Appeals from the Old through the New Kingdom argues against a temple-focussed tradition, as the Appeals are not commonly found in cult temples until the New Kingdom. The number of variant phrases found in the Appeal texts increases in the New Kingdom, just at the time when we have more evidence for the workings of the House of Life.

The alternative to transmission via a written tradition preserved in temple libraries is that the Appeal texts are part of a wider oral tradition of stock formulae and common phrases that were familiar to most ancient Egyptians. The Appeal texts are consistently presented in such a way as to indicate that what was visualized was an oral transmission. The tomb

or statue owner, though deceased, is thought of as “speaking” through the text to future generations. Often this is indicated just through the phrase “he says” (*dd.f*) at the introduction of the Appeal.³⁰ In some cases this idea is expressed more elaborately, as in the Appeal of Ay from Amarna tomb no. 25 (*Urk.* IV 1998.3-5):

Let me tell you (*dd*) (my) way of life.
Let me testify (*mtr*) to you of (my) favors.
Then you will read (*šd*) out my name.

All three verbs used here (*dd*, *mtr*, *šd*) indicate an oral communication; through the written inscription, the deceased communicates with anyone who can read and who looks at the inscription on tomb, stela, or statue. To some extent in this process, the language of oral communication is taken over by written communication.

Yet even though the initial audience must be literate, to some extent the Appeal texts were not limited to a literate audience, but were intended to be read out to those who were unable to read.³¹ For example, the Dynasty Twelve Appeal of Montuweser (Sethe 1928 p. 80 line 1) opens as follows:

Now as for all people
who shall hear this stela
and who are among the living,
they will say “it is true.”

³⁰ To note just a few examples from each period in this study, see from the Old Kingdom, Deir el-Gebrawi tomb 8 of Ibi (*Urk.* I 142.15-143.2) and the Saqqara tomb of Nenki (*Urk.* I 260.11-18); from the First Intermediate Period, the Asyut tomb of It-ibi (Siut III 62 & 65); from the Middle Kingdom, stela CG 20164 of Wahysobek (Lange and Schäfer 1902 p. 195) and stela Hermitage no. 1081 of Nenkhemsen (Bolshakov & Quirke 1999 p. 85); from the Second Intermediate Period, the Dendera stela of Prince Ameni (Moscow no. 4156), and the scribe statue of Tetiemre (CG 42042, Legrain 1906 p. 26); from the New Kingdom, statue CG 42118 of Amunuser (*Urk.* IV 1036-7) and the block statue of Meryenptah from Nebesheh (KRI III p. 247-8). When appropriate, the suffix pronoun changes, such as in the Appeal of Sefeget (Fischer 1976 fig. 12) with *dd.s* for “she says,” or “they say” with *dd.sn* on the stela of Ipy from Liverpool (Gardiner and Sethe 1928 pl. XI). Other Appeals are introduced by *dd mdw* “words spoken,” cf. that of stela Berlin 7311 of Rehw-ankh (Berlin Museum 1913-14 p. 180) and stela Leiden V 14 of Meryptah (*Urk.* IV 1910.14-18) and include other similar phrases, such as *mt dd.tn* “likewise may you say”, cf. stela BM 240 of Renpif (British Museum 1912 p. 32).

³¹ Parkinson (1991 p. 137) notes that “a wider non-literate audience was also envisaged.”

The people who shall hear this stela (*sdm.t(y).f(y) ʿb3 pn*) would be the audience to whom the Appeal was read aloud in the sacred area of Abydos. They were to respond vocally with approval, indicating that the Appeal was correct and in accordance with *maʿat* (*iw.sn r dd m3ʿt pw*). This juxtaposition of *dd* and *sdm* appears among the New Kingdom Appeals as well. For example, from the tomb of Pahery at el-Kab (*Urk.* IV 120.13-14) this idea is expressed with the words “Listen (*sdmw*) to it, you who are (still) in existence. I speak (*dd.i*) to you without falsehood.” Roma-Roy on the 8th Pylon at Karnak (KRI IV p. 289.2) says “Listen to what I say” (*šdm i.ddwt.i*). An even clearer indication of the conceived oral nature of this communication is found in the Appeal of Baki (Turin 156, Varille 1954 p. 132) with the words “Listen (*sdm*) to these things, a copy (*mityt*) of what I have spoken (*ddt.n.i*).” The written inscription is merely a representation or copy of the actual spoken words that conveyed the real message.

If the propagator of the Appeal was thought of as making a verbal request, so too the visitor who read the Appeal was thought of as making a verbal response in terms of pronouncing (*dm*) the name of the deceased and saying the offertory (*hṯp-dl-nsw*) prayer. The ideal was undoubtedly to “speak with the mouth and offer with the arms” (*dd.k3.tn m r(3).tn wdn m ʿwy.tn*, cf. James 1953 pl. VI line C6); small libations and small bits of food may indeed have been left by some visitors to tombs and shrines. In practice, the breath of the mouth (*t3w ny r3*) was likely to have been much more frequently provided than actual offerings. In addition to being magically able to consume offerings, the deceased is able to hear and benefit from the spoken word. In the Appeal in Theban tomb 127, the

deceased assures his visitors that he will indeed hear every detail of the offertory prayer made on his behalf (Urk. IV 509.16-510.4):

You should make invocation – look!
I can hear everything he shall say with my two ears
(namely) your thousands of bread, your thousands of beer,
(and) hundreds of thousands of every good thing,
which are offered pure to the Osiris Senemiah.

So the whole Appeal transaction, from the visitor receiving the Appeal of the deceased, to the visitor responding to the Appeal, and the deceased receiving that response, is conceived of in terms of oral communication. As elsewhere in ancient Egyptian ritual (Leprohon 2001 p. 570), the Appeal texts emphasize the efficacious power of the spoken word for the ancient Egyptians.

Given this context, I think it is preferable to postulate an oral transmission for the Appeal texts outside of the temple archives, rather than a set of pattern books (*Musterbücher*) kept in temple archives. The spread of the genre from a funerary context in Old Kingdom tombs and First Intermediate Period stelae to expedition Appeals outside the Nile Valley does not suggest that temple archives would have been consulted. Rather expedition members, such as scribes, were familiar with the concept and phraseology of the earlier Appeals and adapted them to a new context. Likewise, Appeals are not found in a temple context until the Middle Kingdom; this new context is in association with mortuary cults, such as those of Osiris, previous kings, or revered ancestors, such as Heqaib. The contexts of the Appeal texts, then, do not suggest that they were transmitted through temple archives.

The formulaic phrases found in the Appeal texts begin in the Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period, periods for which there is relatively little evidence for the House of Life and the workings of cult temples in ancient Egypt. Variations in the Appeal text formulae come into play in the Middle Kingdom and 18th Dynasty at a time when we have a bit more evidence for Egyptian cult temples. In the Ramesside Period, when there is good evidence for the House of Life and Egyptian cult temples, the old Appeal text formulae are no longer found and variations on a theme become the rule. Again the development seen in the formulaic phraseology of the Appeal texts does not suggest a transmission through temple archives. Instead, a popular transmission through oral tradition best explains the degree of similarity and diversity in the Appeal texts from the Old Kingdom through the New Kingdom.

11.0 Appendix I: Chronological list of Appeal Texts in Study Sample

Old Kingdom

Dynasty 5 (V.6-8E)	Saqqara tomb D60	Hetepherakhet	OK.22
Dynasty 5 (V.6-8E)	Saqqara mastaba D70	Pehenwikai	OK.9a-b
Dynasty 5 (V.8-9)	Giza tomb	Khuiwer	OK.25
Dynasty 5 (V.8-9)	Saqqara mastaba D22	Ti	OK.31
Dynasty 5 (?)	?	Denwen	OK.33
Dynasty 5-6 (V.9-VI)	Giza tomb	Kaihersetef	OK.28
Dynasty 5-6 (V.9-VI)	Giza rock-cut tomb	Merykhufu	OK.11
Dynasty 6 (VI.1M)	Saqqara mastaba	Kagemni	OK.30
Dynasty 6 (VI.1M)	Saqqara mastaba	Mereruka	OK.12
Dynasty 6 (VI.1-2)	Saqqara tomb	Metjetjy	OK.13
Dynasty 6 (VI.1L-2E)	Saqqara mastaba	Ankhamahor	OK.5a-c
Dynasty 6 (VI.1-3)	Giza tomb G5560	Kaiherptah	OK.29
Dynasty 6 (VI.2)	Giza tomb G2381-2	Nekhebu	OK.16a-c
Dynasty 6 (VI.2M)	Saqqara mastaba	Khentika	OK.24a-b
Dynasty 6 (VI.1-4)	Giza tomb G2430	Hetepeniptah	OK.21
Dynasty 6 (VI.1-4)	Saqqara stela CG 1732	Nedjemib	OK.17
Dynasty 6 (VI.3)	Akhmim	Qereri	OK.27
Dynasty 6 (VI.3-4)	Abydos stela CG 1579	Pepini	OK.8
Dynasty 6 (VI.3-4)	Deshasha rock-cut tomb	Inti	OK.2
Dynasty 6 (VI.3-4)	Saqqara tomb	Bia/Irery	OK.6
Dynasty 6 (VI.4/E)	Deir el-Gebrawi tomb 8	Ibi	OK.6
Dynasty 6 (VI.4)	Abydos stela CG 1431	Djaou	OK.34
Dynasty 6 (VI.4)	Qubbet el-Hawa tomb V8	Harkhuf	OK.20
Dynasty 6 (VI.4)	Deshasha tomb	Iteti	OK.4
Dynasty 6 (VI.4)	Edfu stela CG 43371	Meryranefor	OK.10a-b
Dynasty 6 (VI.4L)	Deir el-Gebrawi tomb 12	Djaou	OK.35
Dynasty 6 (VI.4-5)	Saqqara tomb	Khui	OK.23a-b
Dynasty 6 (VI.4-5)	Saqqara tomb O.1	Nenki	OK.15
Dynasty 6 (VI.4-6)	Meir tomb D2	Pepiankh	OK.7a-b
Dynasty 6 (VI.4-6)	Giza mastaba 2100	Tjetu	OK.32a-b
Dynasty 6 (VI.6-7)	Saqqara	Nyankhpepy	OK.14
Dynasty 6	Saqqara	Hermeru	OK.19
Dynasty 6	Saqqara tomb	Isi	OK.3
Dynasty 6	Giza mastaba	Remenuka	OK.18
Dynasty 6	Saqqara	Sefegat	OK.26

First Intermediate Period

Dynasty 6 or later	Deir el-Gebrawi tomb no. 67	Henqu	FIP.29
Dynasty 6 or later	Dendera mastaba	Meni	FIP.15
Dynasty 6 or later	Giza 7211 B false door stela	Kha	FIP.31
Dynasty 6 or later	Louvre E26.904 (Mo'alla?)	Hekenu	FIP.30
Dynasty 6 or later	Saqqara	Iti	FIP.5
Dynasty 8	Dendera stela	Neferyu	FIP.20
Dynasty 8	Khor Dehmit graffito no. 308	Segersenti	FIP.36
Dynasty 8	Wadi Hammamat M 150	Shemai	FIP.37
Dynasty 9	Dendera stela	Ab-ihw	FIP.9
Dynasty 9	Dendera stela	Seneni	FIP.35
Dynasty 9	Naga ed-Deir stela	Henni	FIP.28
Dynasty 9/10	Asyut tomb no.3	It-ibi	FIP.7a-d
Dynasty 9/10	Asyut tomb no. 5	Khety	FIP.32
Dynasty 9/10	Naga ed-Deir stela	Iy	FIP.2
Dynasty 9/10	Naga ed-Deir stela	Iti	FIP.6
Dynasty 9/10	Naga ed-Deir stela	Idw	FIP.8
Dynasty 9/10	Naga ed-Deir stela	Weha	FIP.13
Dynasty 9/10	Naga ed-Deir stela	Nefernehesi	FIP.22
Dynasty 9/10	Naga ed-Deir stela	Shediti	FIP.38
Dynasty 9/10	Naga ed-Deir stela	Kaka	FIP.39
Dynasty 9/10	Naga ed-Deir stela	Tjeby	FIP.40
Dynasty 10	Busiris stela	Hemitre	FIP.26a-b
Dynasty 10 (?)	Hatnub graffito no. 12	Djehutynakhte	FIP.42
Dynasty 10/11	Abydos stela	Anonymous	FIP.1
Dynasty 10/11	Naga ed-Deir stela	Ankhimy (?)	FIP.10
Dynasty 10/11	Naga ed-Deir stela	Pai (?)	FIP.14
Dynasty 10/11	Naga ed-Deir stela	Neferiwnu	FIP.21
Dynasty 10/11	Naga ed-Deir stela	Sobekaa	FIP.33
Dynasty 11 (?)	Hatnub graffito no. 11	Djehutynakhte	FIP.41
Dynasty 11 (?)	Hatnub graffito no. 16	Nehri	FIP.23
Dynasty 11 (?)	Hatnub graffito no. 19	Ahanakhte	FIP.11
Dynasty 11 (?)	Hatnub graffito no. 20	Nehri	FIP.24
Dynasty 11 (?)	Hatnub graffito no. 22	Sobekemhat	FIP.34
Dynasty 11 (?)	Hatnub graffito no. 25	Ahanakhte	FIP.12
Dynasty 11 (?)	Hatnub graffito no. 28	Renu	FIP.25
Dynasty 11 (?)	Hatnub graffito no. 35	Enrekhef	FIP.19

Dynasty 11	Gebelein stela	Iti	FIP.4
Dynasty 11	Thebes (?) stela	Henry	FIP.27
Dynasty 11 (late)	Abydos stela	Montuhotep	FIP.16
Dynasty 11 (late)	Stela Turin Suppl. 1447	Meru	FIP.17a-b
FIP-early Dynasty 12	Stela CG 1651	Merri	FIP.18
Dynasty 11 (late)- Dynasty 12 (early)	Stela CG 20003	Inyotef	FIP.3

Middle Kingdom (Dynasties 12-13)

Dynasty 12 (early?)	Abydos stela CG 20567	Qay	MK.79
Dynasty 12 (early?)	Abydos stela CG 20088	Tetu	MK.81
Dynasty 12 (early?)	Dahshur statue pedestal	Khentywka	MK.50
Dynasty 12 (early?)	Elephantine statue (no. 49)	Senebbu	MK.74
Dynasty 12 (early?)	Hatnub graffito no. 32	Anonymous	MK.2
Dynasty 12 (early?)	Abydos stela BM 579	Userwer	MK.24
Dynasty 12 (early ?)	Abydos stela BM 584	Khuenbik	MK.48
Dynasty 12 (early?)	Abydos stela CG 20606	Horemhat	MK.46
Dynasty 12 (early?)	Abydos stela CG 20046	Sa-Sobek	MK.60
Dynasty 12 (early?)	Abydos stela Hermitage 1073	Hor	MK.44
D12 Ammenemes I	Dahshur statue	Fajhedjwy	MK.27
D12 Ammenemes I or Sesostris I	Dahshur pair statue	Ankhu and Sepnimut	MK.19
D12 Sesostris I	Abydos stela Leiden V2	Imyhat	MK.5
D12 Sesostris I	Abydos stela MMA 12.184	Montuweser	MK.31
D12 Sesostris I	Abydos stela CG 20539	Montuhotep	MK.32a-b
D12 Sesostris I	Abydos stela CG 20515	Nakht	MK.40
D12 Sesostris I	Abydos stela CG 20518	Khnumnakht	MK.51
D12 Sesostris I	Abydos stela CG 20026	Dedu-Sobek	MK.84
D12 Sesostris I	Abydos stela (Alnwick Castle)	Dedu	MK.83
D12 Sesostris I	Abydos stela (Los Angeles)	Shen-setji	MK.78
D12 Sesostris I	Asyut tomb no. 1	Djefa-hapi	MK.85a-b
D12 Sesostris I	Elephantine stela (no. 10)	Sarenput I	MK.58
D12 Sesostris I	Hatnub graffito no. 49	Amenemhat	MK.9
D12 Sesostris I	Hatnub stela (Posener)	Sobekhotep	MK.67
D12 Sesostris I	Hatnub stela (Simpson)	Khenty	MK.49
D12 Sesostris I	Abydos? stela Louvre C166	Sa-Sapdu	MK.61
D12 Sesostris I	Qubbet el-Hawa tomb no. 36	Sarenput I	MK.57
D12 Sesostris I	Wadi el-Hudi inscription 11	Sobek	MK.64

D12 Ammenemes II	Abydos stela Hannover 2927	Amenemhat	MK.8
D12 Ammenemes II	Abydos stela Leiden V6	Intef	MK.13
D12 Ammenemes II	Abydos stela Munich 35	Wepwawet	MK.22
D12 Ammenemes II	Abydos stela BM 152	Minnefer	MK.29
D12 Ammenemes II	Abydos stela BM 569	Sathathor	MK.59
D12 Sesostris III	Abydos stela CG 20683	Iykhernofret	MK.3
D12 Sesostris III	Abydos stela Geneva D50	Ameny	MK.10
D12 Sesostris III	Elephantine slab	Heqaib	MK.47
D12 Sesostris III	Sehel graffito no. 76	Antef	MK.14
D12 Sesostris III	Sinai inscription no. 511	Mereru	MK.33
D12 Sesostris III or Ammenemes III	Abydos stela BM 101	Nebipu- Senwosret	MK.36
D12 Sesostris III or Ammenemes III	Abydos stela Basel 5002	Sa-Satet	MK.62
D12 Sesostris III or Ammenemes III	Abydos stela Louvre C5	Sa-Satet	MK.63
D12 Sesostris III or Ammenemes III	Qaw el-Kebir stela (Turin 1547)	Wahka I	MK.21
D12 Ammenemes III	Abydos stela CG 20538	Sehetepibre	MK.7a-b
D12 Ammenemes III	Fayum, Brooklyn 57.140	Ipepy	MK.6
D12 Ammenemes III	Sinai inscription no. 28	Sobekhotep	MK.68
D12 Ammenemes III	Sinai inscription no. 53	Sobekherheb	MK.65a-b
D12 Ammenemes III	Sinai inscription no. 114	Ankhreni	MK.17
D12 Ammenemes III	Sinai inscription no. 409	Seninen	MK.75
D12 Ammenemes IV	Sinai inscription no.35	Menkhib	MK.30
D12 Ammenemes IV	Sinai inscription no. 118	Qemau	MK.80
Dynasty 12 (late)	Abydos stela CG 20497	Amenemhat	MK.7
Dynasty 12 (late)	Abydos offering table	Senwosret	MK.52
Dynasty 12 (late)	Haragah tomb 140	Nebipu	MK.34
Dynasty 12 (late)	Haragah stela AEIN 1539	Sepi	MK.69
Dynasty 12 (late)	Saqqara statue JE 51481	Ameny	MK.11
Dynasty 12 (late)	Saqqara stela JE 51733	Neferher	MK.38a-b
Dynasty 12 (late)	Sinai inscription no. 510	Senwosret	MK.53
Dynasty 12 (late)	Stela BM 240	Renpif	MK.42
Dynasty 12 (late)	Abydos? stela Stuttgart 10	Samenkh	MK.54

Dynasty 12-13	Abydos stela CG 20458	Amenyankhren	MK.12
Dynasty 12-13	Abydos stela CG 20061	Ptahwer	MK.26
Dynasty 12-13	Abydos stela CG 20748	Ramenyankh	MK.41
Dynasty 12-13	Abydos stela CG 20017	Senetites	MK.76
Dynasty 12-13	Abydos stela CG 20164	Wahysobek	MK.20
Dynasty 12-13	Dahshur statue pedestal	Iti	MK.15
Dynasty 12-13	Saqqara statue no. 16896	Ankhu	MK.18
Dynasty 12-13	Semna stela Khartoum 2646	Nebipu	MK.35
Dynasty 12-13	Abydos? stela CG 20401	Wenemty- kheper-ka-ra	MK.23
Dynasty 13	Abydos stela Berlin 7311	Rehw-ankh	MK.43a-b
Dynasty 13	Abydos stela CG 20030	Samenkhet(?)	MK.55
Dynasty 13	Abydos stela CG 20540	Burekhef	MK.25
Dynasty 13	Abydos stela CG 20093	Seneb	MK.73
Dynasty 13	Abydos stela Florence 1540	Neferniy	MK.37
Dynasty 13	Abydos stela Tübingen 458	Sobekhotep	MK.66
Dynasty 13	Abydos stela Turin 1628	Senpu	MK.71
Dynasty 13	Elephantine statue (no. 52)	Demi	MK.82
Dynasty 13	Elephantine statue (no. 67)	Sanofret	MK.56
Dynasty 13	Elephantine statue (no. 72)	Senpu	MK.72
Dynasty 13	Elephantine stela (no. 88)	Anonymous	MK.1
Dynasty 13	Elephantine stela (no. 46)	Mutwer	MK.28
Dynasty 13	Abydos? Hermitage no. 1081	Nenkhemsen	MK.39
Dynasty 13	Liverpool stela M 13846	Ipi	MK.4
Dynasty 13	Abydos? Oxford stela 1113	Ankhren	MK.16
Dynasty 13 (?)	Sinai inscription no. 40	Sopdunakhte	MK.70
Late MK- early D18	Sinai inscription no. 36	Hori & Ptahwer	MK.45a-c

Second Intermediate Period (SIP)

SIP/Late MK	Karnak statue CG 42042	Tetiemre	SIP.8
D13 Sobekhotep IV	Edfu stela Alliot no. 10	Hor-aa	SIP.5
Dynasty 13 (late)	Edfu stela CG 20530	Horemehib	SIP.6
Dynasty 17	Abydos stela Chicago O.I. 64	Nakht	SIP.4
Dynasty 17	Edfu stela JE 38917	Khonsuemwaset	SIP.7
D17 Sobekemsaf I	Dendera stela Moscow 4156	Ameni	SIP.3
SIP/early D18	Edfu stela CG 34009	Yuf	SIP.2
SIP/early D18	Edfu stela JE 43362	Yuf	SIP.1

New Kingdom (Dynasties 18-20)

Dynasty 18 (early)	Stela Ashmolean E.3916	Ithu-wesir	NK.17
D18 Amenophis I	Karnak stela JE 596363	Ahmose	NK.4
D18 Amenophis I	Stela CG 43003	Kares	NK.74
D18 Tuthmosis I	Theban tomb 11	Djehuty	NK.85
D18 Tuthmosis II	El-Kab tomb no. 3	Pahery	NK.29
D18 Hatshepsut	Deir el-Bahri statue UC 14351	Djehuty	NK.82
D18 Hatshepsut	Karnak statue BM 1513	Senenmut	NK.70
D18 Hatshepsut	Karnak statue CG 570	Senenmut	NK.71a-b
D18 Hatshepsut	Theban tomb 71	Senenmut	NK.72
D18 Hatshepsut	Theban tomb 81	Ineni	NK.14a-b
D18 Hat./T. III	Theban tomb 155 stela	Intef	NK.15
D18 Tuthmosis III	Karnak statue CG 42118	Amenuser	NK.8
D18 Tuthmosis III	Karnak statue CG 42123	Djehuty	NK.83
D18 Tuthmosis III	Karnak statue Louvre A.127	User	NK.19
D18 Tuthmosis III	Theban tomb 24	Nebamun	NK.43
D18 Tuthmosis III	Theban tomb 39	Puyemre	NK.36
D18 Tuthmosis III	Theban tomb 84	Imau-nedjeh	NK.7
D18 Tuthmosis III	Theban tomb 87	Nakhtmin	NK.54
D16 Tuthmosis III	Theban tomb 127	Senemiah	NK.69a-b
D18 Tuthmosis III	Theban tomb 131	User	NK.20
D18 T.III/A.II	Abydos stela CG 34018	Nebwawy	NK.45
D18 T.III/A.II	Karnak statue JE 91715	Userhat	NK.22
D18 T.III/A.II	Medamud statue Louvre E.12985	Menmesu	NK.40
D18 T.III/A.II	Statue Brooklyn 37.30	Djehuty	NK.86
D18 T.III/A.II	Theban tomb 79	Menkheperresoneb	NK.39
D18 T.III/A.II	Theban tomb 100	Rekhmire	NK.59
D18 Amenophis II	Theban tomb 104	Djehutynefer	NK.87

D18 Amenophis III	Heliopolis statue Louvre E.25550	Hatre	NK.61
D18 Amenophis III	Karnak statue JE 44861	Amenhotep	NK.11
D18 Amenophis III	Karnak statue JE 44862	Amenhotep	NK.12
D18 Amenophis III	Karnak statue CG 583	Amenhotep	NK.13
D18 Amenophis III	Medinet el-Fayum statue	Sobekhotep	NK.68
D18 Amenophis III	Memphis Ptah temple	Amenhotep	NK.10a-c
D18 Amenophis III	Memphis Ptah temple	Ptahmose	NK.38
D18 Amenophis III	Saqqara stela Leiden V14	Meryptah	NK.42
D18 Amenophis III	Statue Brussels E.1103	Nebnefer	NK.46
D18 Amenophis III	Stela BM no. 1332	Iuna	NK.5
D18 Amenophis III	Stela Leiden V38	Neferu	NK.52
D18 Amenophis III	Stela Turin 156	Baki	NK.23
D18 Amenophis III	Theban tomb 57	Khaemhat	NK.66
D18 Akhenaten	Amarna tomb no. 25	Ay	NK.2a-b
D18 Akhenaten	Amarna tomb no. 6	Panehsy	NK.25a-b
D18 Akhenaten	Amarna tomb no. 8	Tutu	NK.76
D18 Ay/Horemheb	Akhmim stela Louvre C55	Nakhtmin	NK.53
D18 Ay/Horemheb	Deir el-Bahri stela MMA 05.4.2	Userhat	NK.21
D18 Ay/Horemheb	Karnak statue JE 44864	Paramesses	NK.27
D18 Ay/Horemheb	Stela CG 34057	Neferhotep	NK.50
D18 (late)/D19 (early)	Stela Boston 1972.651	Tjawy	NK.77
D19 Seti I	Deir Durunka MMA 33.2.1	Iuny	NK.6
D19 Seti I	Deir el-Bahri stela BM 706	Didia	NK.80a-b
D19 Seti I	Karnak statue CG 42122	Didia	NK.81a-b
D19 Seti I	Stela Louvre C50	Didia	NK.79
D19 Seti I	Stela Stockholm no. 25	Huysbery	NK.62
D19 Seti I/R. II	Memphis statue Leiden D38	Hormin	NK.63
D19 Seti I/R. II	Theban tomb no. 106	Paser	NK.32a-b

D19 Ramesses II	Abydos stela BM 156	Pay	NK.34
D19 Ramesses II	Abydos stela JE 21801	Panekhuemtawy	NK.26
D19 Ramesses II	Deir el-Bahri statue UM E.534+	Paser	NK.30
D19 Ramesses II	Deir el-Bahri statue CG 561	Paser	NK.31
D19 Ramesses II	Karnak statue Munich WAF.38	Bakenkhonsu	NK.24a-b
D19 Ramesses II	Memphis statue	Huy	NK.60
D19 Ramesses II	Nebesheh statue	Meryenptah	NK.41
D19 Ramesses II	Saqqara statue base (Serapeum)	Khaemwaset	NK.65
D19 Ramesses II	Saqqara stela Florence 2352	Tjia	NK.78
D19 Ramesses II	Saqqara stela JE 48845	Rahotep	NK.55
D19 Ramesses II	Saqqara stela JE 89046	Pahemnuter	NK.28
D19 Ramesses II	Saqqara statue Leiden AST 23	Ptahmose	NK.37
D19 Ramesses II	Statue CG 1105	Tjunroy	NK.75
D19 Ramesses II	Statue Naples 1069	Amenemone	NK.9a-b
D19 Ramesses II	Stela Louvre C95	Khetef	NK.67
D19 Ramesses II	Stela of Kha'emope (Tübingen)	Yua	NK.18
D19 Ramesses II	Tell el-Baqlih statue (Mansoura)	Pattisy	NK.35
D19 Ramesses II	Theban tomb 183	Nebsumenu	NK.47
D19 Ramesses II	Theban tomb 184	Nefermenu	NK.48
D19 Ramesses II	Theban tomb 360	Qaha	NK.73
D19 Ammenmesses	Karnak statue CG 42185	Roma-Roy	NK.56
D19 Ammenmesses	Karnak statue CG 42186	Roma-Roy	NK.57
D19 Seti II	Karnak, 8 th pylon	Roma-Roy	NK.58a-b
Dynasty 19	Nag' el-Mesheikh	Anhurnakhte	NK.16
Dynasty 19	Stela Louvre C108	Neferrenpet	NK.49
Dynasty 19	Zawyet Sultan tomb	Nefersekheru	NK.51a-c
D19-20	Deir el-Bahri graffito	Nebwau	NK.44
D19-20	Ostrakon Edinburgh 1956-316	Anonymous	NK.1
D20 Ramesses III	Deir el Medina statue (Cairo)	Pashedu	NK.33
D20 Ramesses IX	Theban tomb 65	Imiseba	NK.3
D20 Ramesses XI	Thebes, statue CG 42190	Herihor	NK.64

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

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